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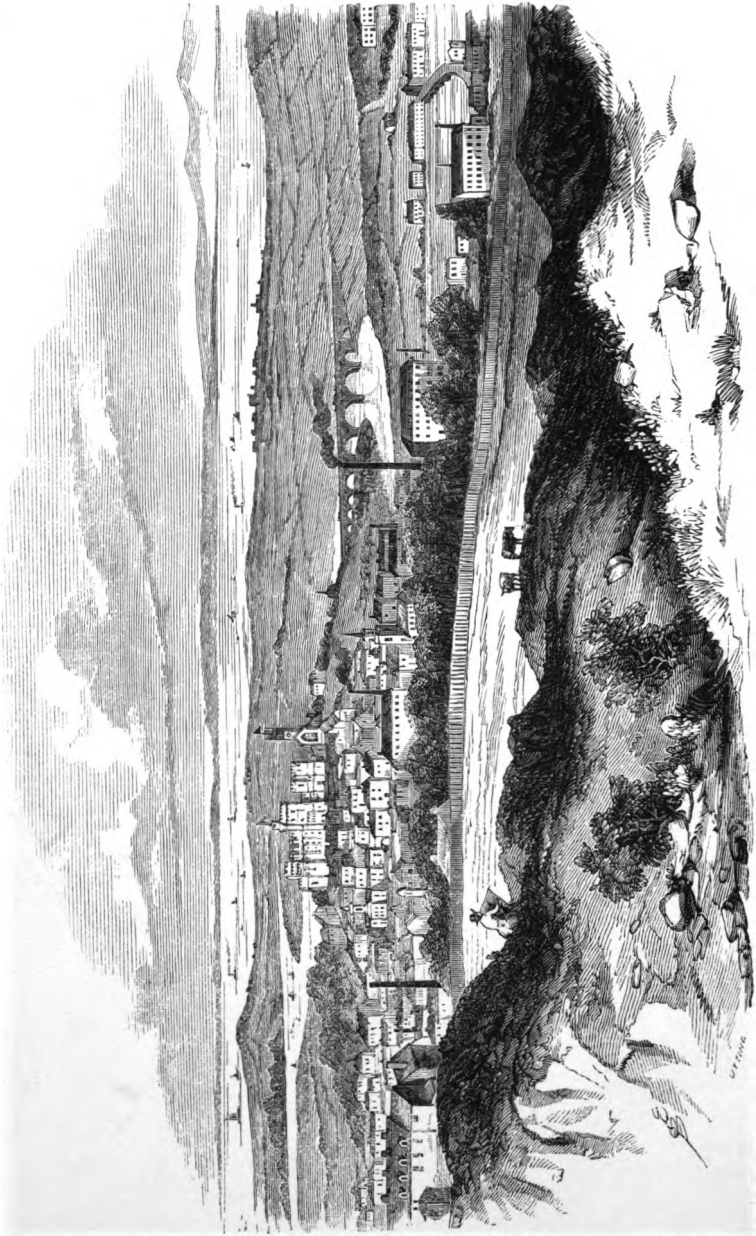
**THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES  
OF LANCASTER.**











LANCASTER FROM THE MOOR.

# HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE TOWN OF

## LANCASTER:

COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY

REV. ROBERT S. PUGH, M.A.

OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

OF THE GENERAL ANTIQUE MONUMENTS SOCIETY.

"Si quis novisti rectius ista, corrigere nonne  
Scilicet, has ut rebus erunt."

LANCASTER:

PUBLISHED BY T. EDMONDSON, MARKET PLACE  
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MURKIN MARSHALL & CO., STATIONERS' HALL COURT, LAFERNOSER ROW

1852.





THE MOUNTAIN OF THE FUTURE

THE  
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE TOWN OF

LANCASTER:



COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY THE

REV. ROBERT SIMPSON, M.A.,

OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;  
PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. LUKE'S, SKERTON,

---

"Si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti:  
Si non, his utere mecum."

---

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SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO., STATIONERS' HALL COURT, PATERNOSTER ROW.  
1852.



TO

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

QUEEN VICTORIA,

IN HER OWN RIGHT

DUCHESS OF LANCASTER,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE (BY PERMISSION) DEDICATED

BY HER

MOST HUMBLE, FAITHFUL, AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

ROBERT SIMPSON.





## P R E F A C E.

---

IN the prosecution of the following work, the materials have been arranged under the several heads of LANCASTER BRITISH—LANCASTER ROMAN—LANCASTER SAXON—LANCASTER DANISH—and LANCASTER NORMAN :—tracing the history from the earliest known period through the various portions into which Britain has from time to time been divided, until the whole kingdom was incorporated under one head.

Though some readers may smile at the story of *Gurgintus*, the Editor cannot but think he recognises the name of this ancient town in *Nennius'* list of "the names of all the cities of *Britain*," under the terms "*Cair Guintwig*," or, as in other MSS., "*Cair Guintruis*."

The *Northumbrian* kingdom having been divided into the two portions, *Bernicia* and *Deira*, it was thought best to trace whatever could be found relating to Lancaster, through *Northumbria*, in general, when forming but one kingdom, and *Deira*, in particular, when the division took place; Lancaster belonging to the kingdom of Northumbria, and being locally situated in that part which was afterwards known as the kingdom of Deira.

The table of contents will sufficiently indicate the variety of subjects introduced into the body of the work.

The following pages form but a small portion of what might be written on the "History and Antiquities of Lancaster." The Editor had no idea, when he commenced his work, of the immense stores which exist, both in print and in manuscript, referring to this "good old town;" but a complete history of this ancient borough would require more time and abilities than he possesses.

Considering the unfavourable circumstances under which the Editor was placed, as a comparative stranger to persons and places, having resided but a few months in the town; the difficulty of

access to the proper authorities; combined with the various duties of a parochial minister, with four public services weekly; obliged to collect, to read, and to select from the various works with which he could meet touching the history of the place; it is highly probable that many errors may be found.

The Editor does not consider himself responsible for more than the correctness of transcript of the various documents which are given.

It is not his province to offer *opinions*, but to state *facts*.

To ensure the admission of as much matter as possible, recourse has been had to a smaller type, which will account for the irregularity in the printing.

To those kind friends who have favoured him with the loan of books and manuscripts, and have otherwise assisted him in his work, the Editor tenders his warmest thanks; and trusts that this general acknowledgment will be deemed sufficient, since to furnish the names of all, would far exceed the limits assigned to a preface, and might appear to savour more of vanity than usefulness.



The low price at which the work is published would not allow of the introduction of plates.

Craving the most liberal indulgence from his readers, the work is committed to their candid attention, with every good wish for their temporal, spiritual, and eternal welfare—and hearty prayers for the prosperity and permanency of the best interests of “time-honoured Lancaster.”

SKERTON PARSONAGE,  
MARCH, 1852.

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#### ADDENDA.

Page 278, in Constitution 31, for "corporators" read *corroysors*. This word appears to be derived from the French *corroyer*, to curry or dress leather. We have also *corroyère*, a wooden tool used in tanning; and also *corroyeur*, a currier or leather-dresser.—Kindly communicated by Mr. Wilkinson, Burnley.

There are two Newspapers published weekly:—the first, called the *Lancaster Gazetteer* (now the *Gazette*), was published in 1801; the other, the *Lancaster Guardian*, in 1836.



# The History and Antiquities of Lancaster.

## CHAPTER I.

Difficulties in writing histories—Want of early records—Excursions of fancy—Lanquette's remarks—Original inhabitants of Britain—Useful and important investigation—Various hypotheses—Descent of the Britons from the Trojans—Arrival of Brutus, grandson or great-grandson of Æneas—Geoffrey ap Arthur—Walter de Mapes—Tysilio—A desire to be thought descended from the Trojans very general—Such descent gravely asserted by Edward I. in a letter to Pope Boniface—Camden first questions its truth—Milton favours the hypothesis—Holinshed's account—Albion—Giants of the race of Cham—Celts—Samothès, first king of the Celts—Monk of Viterbo's forgery—Bishop Bale—Another account—The Welsh "Triads"—The Phœnicians—Aylett Sammes—Sir William Betham—Inhabited by Celtæ at the Roman invasion—Cæsar's description of the people—Remarks of Tacitus—Various names by which our island was known.

THE history of ancient times is enveloped so much in shade, that it is difficult to trace with any degree of precision, the remote origin of places; and in the elucidation of subjects of this nature, the mind is too frequently led astray by the delusive excursions of fancy. The state of our country, previous to the invasion of the *Romans*, is very imperfectly understood. The discordant opinions of historians, respecting its original settlement, have a tendency rather to obscure, than to enlighten the subject, and their accounts of these early times are generally embellished with numerous fictions.

B

There is much force in the observations of an ancient chronicler, who remarks,—“Albeit that this roialme of *Englande* maie easily contende with anie other nacion, for the antiquitee thereof, as being continually inhabited with people, from that tyme that all other countreis receyued inhabit-auntes: yet by the often ciuill warres, and inuasions of outwarde ennemies, the monumentes and remembrances of the histories passed beyng destroyed, it hath caused no littel ambiguitie and darknesse to the certaine knowlage of the originale begynnyng thereof. Wherefore by this occasion compelled, I wyll brefely overrunne the actes and yeres of those kynges whiche reigned, unto the tyme that this lande was knowen unto the *Romaynes*. The historie of whiche tyme is full of errorrs, and hath in it no manifest apparence of truthe, as beyng written neither of no auncient tyme, nor yet by no credible hystorian. For if there had remained any veritable monument of these tymes, surely the worshippful *Beda* and *Gildas*, our counterie men, yea and *Cesar*, the conquerour therof, wolde not have omitted them. Neuerthelesse, I will not discent from the comon opinion therof, but will also followe it as nere as I may, obseruyng the just computacion of the yeres, and the conferrment of histories.”\*

Certainly, no question in history is more intricate and difficult than that of the original population of the *British* isles. The subject, indeed, in its various relations, is entangled with nearly all the darkest questions that perplex the primeval

\* Lanquette's Chronicle, p.p. 27, 28.

antiquities of our race. Yet, almost in direct proportion to its difficulty, and the degree in which it has exercised and baffled speculation, is the subject interesting and tempting to a liberal curiosity. The connexion which it developes between the present and the remotest past—the extent of the space over which the survey of it carries us—the light, however faint and interrupted, shed by it upon that wide waste of the time gone by, which the torch of history has left in utter darkness—all combine to excite and lure on the imagination, and, at the same time, to give to the investigation much of a real utility and importance.

For a long time, that which was held to be the orthodox belief respecting the original population of the southern part of *Britain*, was the story of the descent of the first *Britons* from the *Trojans*, a colony of whom was supposed, after the destruction of their native city, to have been conducted to this island by *Brutus*, a grandson or great-grandson of *Aeneas*, more than a thousand years before the commencement of the Christian era. The person who first made this story generally known, was the famous *Geoffrey ap Arthur*, Archdeacon of *Monmouth*, and afterwards Bishop of *St. Asaph*, who flourished in the twelfth century:\* but there is no reason to suppose, as has been sometimes

\* The best edition of *Geoffrey of Monmouth* is printed under the title of "Galfridus Monumetensis de origine et gestis Regum Britannicorum," in Jerome Commelines, "Britannicarum rerum Scriptores vetustiores et præcipui," fol. *Heidelb.*, 1687. It has been translated into English by Adam Thompson, 8vo., *London*, 1718. An analysis of the work is given by Mr. George Ellis, in his "Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances." Vol. 1, sec. 3.

asserted, that he was its inventor. His *Latin* history is, in all probability, what it professes to be, a translation of an *Armorican* original, entitled "*Brut y Breninodd*, or a Chronicle of the Kings of *Britain*," which was put into his hands by his friend *Walter de Mapes*, otherwise called *Calenius*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, who had himself brought the manuscript from *Bretagne*. The same legend, which is found in so amplified a form in *Geoffrey's* work, is more briefly detailed in various histories of a much earlier date. The earliest writer to whom it can be traced, appears to be the *Welsh* priest, *Tysilio*, who is believed to have flourished in the latter part of the seventh century.\* The *Brut* (that is, the Chronicle) of *Tysilio*, seems to have been the prototype both of the work which *Geoffrey* translated, and of many other similar performances.

The vanity of being supposed to be sprung from the *Trojans* was common, in early times, to many of the European nations; but the *English* probably retained their belief in the notion to a later date than any of the rest. It is gravely alleged by *Edward I.*, in a letter which he addressed to Pope *Boniface*, A.D. 1301, as part of the argument by which he attempts to establish the supremacy of the *English* crown over *Scotland*.

The acute and judicious *Camden*, at the end of the sixteenth century, was almost the first inquirer into our national antiquities who ventured to ques-

\* The "*Brut*" of *Tysilio* is printed in the second volume of the "*Welsh Archaology*," 3 vols. 8vo. 1801. And there is an *English* translation of it by the Rev. Peter Roberts, 8vo. London, 1810.



tion the long-credited tale ; yet, nearly a hundred years afterwards, we find a belief in its truth still lingering in the poetic imagination of *Milton*.

*Geoffrey* makes *Brutus* and his *Trojans* to have found *Britain* nearly uninhabited, its only occupants being a few giants of the race of *Cham*, over whom the famous *Gog-magog* ruled as king ; but another form of the fable settles a numerous population in the country, at a much earlier date. "As we shall not doubt of *Brutus's* coming hither," says *Holinshed*, "so may we assuredly think that he found the island peopled, either with the generation of those whom *Albion* the giant had placed there, or some other kind of people whom he did subdue, and so reigned as well over them as over those which he brought with him." *Albion* is said to have been a son of *Neptune*, who took the island from the *Celts*, after they had occupied it for above three hundred years, under a succession of five kings, the first of whom was *Samothès*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, and the same who is called by *Moses*, *Meshech*. From *Samothès*, *Britain* received the first name it ever had, *Samothea*. *Albion* and his brother *Bergion*, who was king of *Ireland*, were eventually conquered and put to death by *Hercules*. The inventor of this history appears to have been *Annius* or *Nanni*, a Dominican friar of *Viterbo*, in *Italy*, who published it about the end of the fifteenth century, in a forged work which he attributed to *Berosus*, a priest of the temple of *Belus*, at *Babylon*, in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. It was afterwards taken up and further illustrated by the celebrated *English* Bishop, *Bale*. Another

ancient account of the original population of *Britain*, is that preserved in the *Welsh* poetical histories, known by the name of the "Triads," in allusion to the three events which each of them commemorates. But these "Triads," from the facts mentioned in them, appear not to be older than the reign of *Edward I.*, although they may have been founded upon the fragments of earlier compositions; but even if they were of much greater antiquity, they could be no authority for any thing more than the traditional accounts of the first peopling of the country.

Of the theories which have been proposed upon this subject by modern inquirers, one supposes the first colonizers both of *Britain* and *Ireland*, to have been the *Phœnicians*. The original suggester of this notion appears to have been *Aylett Sammes*, a writer of the latter part of the seventeenth century.\* It has been recently advocated with considerable ingenuity, by *Sir William Betham*, who, however, is of opinion that the *Phœnicians* were preceded in the occupation of both islands by the *Caledonians*, afterwards called the *Picts*, whom he conceives to have been a people of *Scandinavian* origin—the *Cimbri* of antiquity. The *Phœnicians* he considers to be the same people with the *Gael* or *Celts*.†

Notwithstanding any diversity of views, however, which may exist as to some of the remoter

\* See his "*Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*," or the *Antiquities of Ancient Britain* derived from the *Phœnicians*, fol., 1676. Wood, in his "*Athenæ Oxonienses*," asserts that the true author of this work was *Robert Aylett*, LL.D., a master in Chancery, who was the uncle of *Sammes*, and left his papers to his nephew.

† "*The Gael and Cymbri*," 8vo., Dub., 1834.

points of the investigation, it may be affirmed to be now admitted on all hands, that the numerous population which the *Romans* found in the occupation of the southern part of this island, about half a century before the commencement of the Christian era, was principally a *Celtic* race, and had, in all probability, been immediately derived from the neighbouring country of *France*, then known by the name of *Gallia*.

*Cæsar*, the first of the ancients who saw the people, or who has described them, informs us that their buildings were almost similar to those of the *Gauls*, and their religion was the same; and it appears also, from his narrative, that a close political alliance existed between the states of *Britain* and those of *Gaul*, and that the latter were all along aided by the former in their resistance to the *Romans*. *Tacitus*, who had the best opportunities of information, has expressly recorded that, in addition to an identity of religious rites, the languages of the *Gauls* and *Britons* were nearly the same; and evidence of this fact remains to the present day, in the *Celtic* character of the topographical nomenclature of the south, as well as of the other parts of *Britain*, so far as it has not been obliterated by the *Saxon* conquest. Bishop *Percy* has observed that in *England*, "although the names of the towns and villages are almost universally of *Anglo-Saxon* derivation, yet the hills, forests, rivers, &c., have generally retained their old *Celtic* names."\* Every thing, of greatest antiquity, that survives amongst us, is *Celtic*.

\* Preface to translation of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, i. xxxix.

Upon the whole, therefore, the probability seems to be, that although the inhabitants of the inland part of *South Britain*, at the time of the *Roman* invasion, were the posterity of a much earlier colonization than that which had peopled the maritime parts of the island, yet both the tribes of the coast and those of the interior were of the same *Celtic* descent, and all spake dialects of the same *Celtic* tongue. We find the evidences of this community of language and of lineage, spread over the whole length of the country, from its northern boundary to the channel; for the oldest names of the natural objects and localities, even in the portion of this range, which is commonly understood to have been eventually occupied by *Belgic* colonies, are equally *Celtic* with those which occur elsewhere. This circumstance must be considered as a testimony, in regard to the original population of the country, far outweighing the meagre and vague notices handed down to us upon the subject by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*; and it is to be explained only by supposing either that the seats of the *Belgic* tribes in *Britain* had, before their arrival, been in the possession of a *Celtic* race, or that the *Belgians*, notwithstanding their *German* descent, had, before their invasion of *Britain*, become by their long residence on the west side of the *Rhine*, more of a *Celtic* than a *Teutonic* people. If there were any difference of language between them and the other inhabitants of *South Britain*, it could scarcely have amounted to more than a difference of dialect. There is certainly, at least, no indication in the topographical nomenclature of the country, that any *Teutonic* people, before

the arrival of the *Saxons* in the fifth and sixth centuries of the *Christian* era, ever had occupied the parts of it of which they then came into possession. It is not unlikely that a few settlements may have been effected, in very early times, on the west coast by the *Spaniards*, and on the east coast by emigrants from the opposite *Scandinavian* regions; but, with these exceptions, there appears to be little reason to doubt that the whole of what is now *England*, was first occupied by a *Celtic* population, which came over, in successive swarms, from the neighbouring country of *Gaul*. Some speculators have even attempted to shew that *Britain* was originally united by land to *Gaul*.\* At any rate, it may be assumed that the first migration from the one to the other took place at a very early period, most probably more than a thousand years before the incarnation of our Lord.

The name by which our island was known among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was doubtless formed from the name in use among the natives themselves—*Britannia*. Sir William *Betham* conceives that this word is formed from the *Celtic*, "*Brit daoine*," that is, *painted* people,—the name, he says, which "the *Phœnician-Gallic* colony," on their arrival, bestowed upon the wild natives of *Scandinavian* extraction whom they found in possession of the country. *Brit*, it has been remarked, is the same word with *Brik* or *Brechan*, the name still given to his tartan plaid by the *Scotch* high-

\* See this position learnedly maintained in a dissertation, "*De Britannia quondam penè insula*," prefixed to Musgrave's "*Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicae*," 3 vols., 8vo., 1719.

lander, and signifying properly, a *garment marked with divided or variegated colours*.

*Bruit*, again, is the *Celtic* term for *tin*, or metal generally, so that *Bruit-tan*, or, as smoothed down by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, "*Britannia*," signifies altogether, the *metal* or *tin-land*—an epithet which would naturally be bestowed upon the country, from the circumstance for which it probably first became known to other nations. The meaning of the name is exactly the same with that of the *Greek*, "*Cassiterides*," by which alone the *British* islands were known to *Herodotus*.\*

\* *Pictorial History of England*, pp. 1—12.

## CHAPTER II.

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“HELPS to thicken other proofs  
That do demonstrate thinly.”

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Application of preliminary remarks—Lancaster an ancient British town—  
Caesar's description of their towns—Situation of Lancaster agrees  
therewith—Traces of Celtic occupation of this neighbourhood—  
Local nomenclature—Dr. Whittaker on Celtic etymons—Celts—Rev.  
Dr. Pegge's remarks thereon—British name of Lancaster—Caer  
Weridd—Camden's observations—Supposed founder of Caer Weridd  
—Gurgintus.

THE early history of LANCASTER resolves itself into the general history of the country: and there can be little doubt that its aborigines were a colony of *Celtæ*, a tribe of the *Gauls*, who, emigrating from the continent, settled in this island, probably about a thousand years before the birth of *Christ*.\* It seems highly probable, as *Cæsar* intimates, that the interior parts of *Britain*, to the north and to the west, and consequently *Lancashire*, were peopled by the earliest inhabitants, and the maritime parts by those who crossed over from *Belgium* in *Gaul*, for the purpose of invading it, almost all of whom had their names from the tribes whence they sprang, and, on the cessation of hostilities, remained here.†

\* Richard de Cirencester, book i. chap. ii. sec. 4.

† Baines's History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster,  
vol. i. p. 2, 3.

In the south-eastern parts of *Britain*, the inhabitants, before the first invasion of the *Romans*, had made some advances towards civilization; but in this part of the island, they subsisted chiefly by hunting; and their cattle grazed upon pastures, unencumbered with any of the artificial divisions which a state of cultivation never fails to produce. For their clothing, when the severity of the season compelled them to submit their limbs to such restraints, they were indebted to the skins of those animals which disputed with them the dominion of the land; and their dwellings were formed by the pillars of the forest, rooted in the earth, and enclosed by interwoven branches, which served but imperfectly to shelter them from the conflicts of the elements, during the hours of repose.

*Cæsar*, when describing the construction of ancient *British* towns, remarks, "The habitations of the ancient *British* were in the midst of large woods, where, having felled the trees, and cleared the ground, they built themselves huts which they covered with skins, boughs, turf, or reeds; and here they had also folds for their cattle. Thus were all their towns constructed, and the avenues were defended by the trees which they cut down, and by ramparts of earth. The natives bred the hare, the hen, and the goose, but did not use them for food. They seldom cultivated corn in the inland parts, but lived on milk and flesh-meat, and were clothed in the skins of wild beasts."\*

The situation of LANCASTER exactly agrees with the description given of the towns of the ancient

\* *Cæsar*, de Bello Gallico, lib. v., sec. 12.



*Britons*; placed on the bank of a river, for the sake of water, and on the skirt of a large forest, for the conveniency of hunting, and pasture for their cattle. As these inviting circumstances were more conspicuous in some parts of the country than in others, the princes or chiefs made choice of these places for their residence; a number of their followers and dependents built their huts as near them as they could, and also erected stalls for their cattle within the same limits. A town or city thus made, they fortified all round with a ditch and rampart of earth,\* and if any danger was suspected, they blocked up all the entrances with trees, cut down and heaped one upon the other, except where the river supplied them, as in the case of LANCASTER, with a natural defence.

The existence of the *Britons* in this neighbourhood, appears from the names of various places, rivers, hills, &c., which are still retained with but little variation, in this locality.

The following remarks, bearing upon this subject, are highly interesting, as serving to shew that LANCASTER and its neighbourhood were not unknown to that ancient people.

“We have at present, as before observed, no special concern with the etymons of *Celtic* nomenclature: but we are directly interested in the manner in which the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, or *Normans*, might happen to intermeddle with *Celtic* names, let their radical forms be what they may.

“Some of these names have scarcely been altered

\* “*Oppidum* Britanni vocant quum silvas impeditas vallo et fossâ invenerunt.”—*Cæsar, de Bello Gallico*, lib. v.

“at all by those who have occupied our island since  
 “its invasion by *Julius Cæsar*. Such is *Ravenglas*,  
 “‘*Ri-avon-glas*,’ *the river of blue streams*. Three  
 “remarkably clear streams, the *Irt*, the *Esk*, and  
 “the *Mite*, without uniting their waters through  
 “their whole course, fall into the sea, at this place.  
 “The name has belonged to one of them, and now  
 “designates the little village at its confluence with  
 “the ocean. There is a transference here, but no  
 “corruption. *Penningent*, the name of a hill in  
 “*Yorkshire*, remains unaltered, ‘*Pen y gwynt*’—*the*  
 “*hill of storms*; and its comrade *Whernside*, has  
 “suffered very little, for ‘*Gwernsiad*’ is good *British*  
 “for *the head of alders*, which tree grows in profu-  
 “sion, and is indigenous in the skirts of this hill  
 “on its north side. *Morecambe*, ‘*Mwr Cwm*,’ the  
 “*great hollow or bay*, has also remained unmutilated.  
 “\* \* Between LANCASTER and the great chase  
 “of *Bolland* (or *Bowland*), is a hill, the name of  
 “which is pronounced ‘*Gloufagh*’ or ‘*Cloufagh*.’  
 “This has not been seen in print, so no one can  
 “vouch for the modern orthography: nor should  
 “we care for it if we had it authenticated. But  
 “the word is good *British*—‘*Glawog*,’ and means  
 “*rainy*, or *abundant in showers*. And sure enough,  
 “the clouds borne over the *Irish* sea by the wes-  
 “terly winds, pour out their contents over the ad-  
 “jacent country in great profusion, as soon as they  
 “impinge upon the long ridge of this mountain,  
 “the first obstacle to their progress which they  
 “have to encounter.

“The next example that occurs is one of decided  
 “corruption, both as to pronunciation and ortho-

“graphy; yet is there scarcely any deviation from  
“the original name. Take it as follows: the valley  
“of *Langdale*, watered by the *Brathay*, which there  
“divides *Lancashire* from *Westmoreland*, extends  
“from the *Roman* castra æstiva of *Dictis*, at the  
“head of *Windermere*, to *Elter Water*, and, below  
“that lake, divides into two smaller vallies, *Great*  
“and *Little Langdale*, each of them bounded by in-  
“considerable mountains. Between these two vales  
“are hills of considerable eminence, one coming  
“forward in advance towards the small lake just  
“mentioned, and another called ‘*Wry Nose*,’ of  
“large dimensions, behind it, to the west. The  
“name is so spelled in the guide-books to the lakes;  
“it is so pronounced by all the people in the better  
“rank of life: but, doubting these questionable and  
“suspicious authorities, reference was made to the  
“shepherds and country folks, who are slow to  
“alter ancient names; and it was found that they  
“never pronounced it ‘*Wry nose*,’ the absurd non-  
“sense of which caused the inquiry to be instituted,  
“but invariably ‘*Rennos*,’ the accent on the first  
“syllable, and the final letter a soft s, not z, as in  
“the *English* word, ‘nose.’ This mode of pro-  
“nouncing the name of the mountain instantly led  
“to the discovery of its ancient name, ‘*Ré nos*,’  
“the meaning of which is ‘*Rex noctis*’—the king  
“of night, a most appropriate descriptive appella-  
“tion; for at the particular season of the year  
“when the twilight is very brief, and as soon as  
“the sun sinks behind this huge mountain, his  
“shadow is cast in deep gloom over the valley to  
“the eastward of him, and night speedily settles

“down upon the whole length of *Langdale*. Who  
“would not lament that ‘the ruler of the night’  
“should have been degraded by the senseless and  
“ill-sounding name of ‘Wry nose,’ which figures  
“in all the guide books to the *English* lakes; whose  
“authors never once asked themselves what the  
“expression could mean, or whether it was appro-  
“priately descriptive of the object designated.  
“Another name, very common in this same lake  
“district, is ‘*Lingmoor*,’ the last syllable of which,  
“‘mawr,’ is a sure indication of a *British* origin.\*  
“The genuine meaning of the word is, ‘*the great*  
“*lion*’—‘*Lleon mawr*.’ And yet, though we have  
“here an actual identity of the expression, this  
“interpretation is capable of a serious doubt. True,  
“there seems to be no impropriety in calling a  
“huge mass of recumbent *grauwacke* by the name  
“of the king of beasts, to which its form may  
“bear some fancied resemblance. But it is very  
“remarkable that there should be in the same  
“immediate country, three or four mountains of  
“the same name: and it must be confessed that  
“whenever the epithets ‘mawr’ or ‘da,’ *great* or  
“*good*, are found in composition with another  
“etymon in a local appellation, there is good rea-  
“son to think the latter to have a mythological  
“reference. But, in this instance, no plausible  
“conjecture occurs with any such reference to the  
“religion of our ancestors.

“As the *Britons* were wont to name their  
“mountains from the peculiarities of form, situation,  
“circumstance, so they were in the habit of naming

\* *Quernmoor*, &c.

“their cities and strong places from the rivers in  
 “their neighbourhood. These are not to be sup-  
 “posed places of ordinary occupation, as towns in  
 “modern times, habitual places of residence, but  
 “stations prepared in the deep woodlands and  
 “marshes, not easy of access, and commonly de-  
 “fended by ditches and wooden stockades, to  
 “which, in times of warlike aggression the property  
 “of the tribe might be conveyed, and which were  
 “defended with all the desperate self-devotion and  
 “bravery, that have been shown by the *Mahrattas*  
 “and *Affghauns* in our own times.

“‘Wick,’ or ‘vic,’ the same as the *Latin* ‘vicus,’  
 “has been supposed to be always *Gothic*,—whereas  
 “it was also a *Celtic* term for a town or city,\*—only  
 “it was usually added in a more curt and abridged  
 “form. Sometimes the letter (*k*) alone indicates its  
 “presence. As to *York*, the name of the river is  
 “‘*Wre*,’ as now written, which in *British*, would  
 “be ‘*Ywr*,’ and the city on its banks would natu-  
 “rally be ‘*Ywrk*,’ for ‘*Ywrewick*,’ as the *Saxons*  
 “would have written it.”

The variety of the *Celtic* etymons for “water,”  
*ab*, *av*, *au*, *ak*, *ask*, *usk*, *on*, *avon*, *abon*, *aun*, *laun*,  
*ui*, *mui*, &c., often compounded with independent  
 consonants as augments, which is found in the  
 names of various places in this neighbourhood,  
 attests the occupation of this part of our country  
 by the original inhabitants of *Britain*.

Again, we find in composition the true *British*  
 word “*din*,” an abbreviation for “*dinas*,” a city;  
 “*don*,” in *Celtic*, a *mountain*; and “*dean*” or “*dyn*,”

\* *Longo-vic*, one of the names of Lancaster.

a *wood*, as "Hazle-dean," "Hawthorn-dean," "Hasling-dean," &c., &c.\*

*Clitheroe* affords another instance of purely *British* origin: "Cled-dur," denoting a *hill* or *rock* by the *water*; the additional syllable "hou," is purely *Saxon*, which also denotes a hill, and is merely an explanatory addition, adapted to the language and ideas of the *Saxons*.†

The name of the river on which LANCASTER is situated, is evidently of *British* origin, being a corruption of *Lug-avon*, or *Lugaun*, signifying, in the *British* language, a *stream of water*. This name has been abbreviated into *Lone*, which, according to the accent of the principal part of *Lancashire*, would be pronounced 'Loyne.' And hence, in ancient authors, we frequently read of the river *Loyne*. In many parts of the county this ancient town is still called LONKISTER.‡

It may also be remarked that the numerous *Druidical* remains, which are found in the north, seem to indicate still further the residence of a people addicted to that religion. The priests themselves lived in groves; and the places of their residence are yet to be found under the name of *Greaves*.

Traces of their occupation of this neighbourhood have also been found in two rude instruments evidently made by a people to whom the use of iron was unknown, and who, if the *Phœnicians*

\* On Local Nomenclature, chiefly Celtic, and relating to Great Britain. By John William Whittaker, D.D.—See the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, No. xxiii.

† Beauties of England and Wales, vol. ix., p. 132.

‡ Lonsdale Mag., vol. i. p. 189.

first communicated the art of working in metals to the inhabitants of *Britain*, formed these instruments at least three centuries before the *Christian* æra. They are both of the description called *Celts*, or hammer heads, and were discovered at *Quernmore* and *Heaton*. One is of large grey cobble, weighing seven pounds, and is nine inches and a half in length, and four and a half inches broad, with a perforation for the insertion of the handle one inch and three quarters in diameter. The other is of black flint, and of smaller dimensions. All antiquarians unite in attributing these to the ancient *Britons*. Many similar ones have been found, at different periods, in various parts of the island. The Rev. Dr. *Samuel Pegge*, in his dissertation on them, believes them to have been instruments of domestic use, and most probably for slaying victims for sacrifice, and used by the *Britons* and other barbarous nations before they were acquainted with the use of iron or brass. That the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* were acquainted with *Britain*, long before the invasion of the island by *Cæsar*, is a well established fact.

That LANCASTER was formerly a *British* city there can be no doubt. Indeed the name which was given to this place is sufficient indication of its remote antiquity,—“*Caer Weridd*.” Such is the *Celtic* description of this interesting spot, and intimates that a *British camp* or *town* existed here at a very remote period.\*

\* The word “*Cair*,” amongst the Britons, signified a city or camp ; amongst the Cambrians it also signifies a wall. “*Vox Cair Britannis urbem vel castrum significat. Cair, lingua Trojana, civitatem dici addit ; et Cambriis murum quoque significare. Ut quemadmodum Hebræi קִיר*”

*Camden*, speaking of LANCASTER, remarks, after noticing that a fragment of *Roman* works on the castle hill bears the name of "*Wery Wall*," "that the *Britons* denominated the town "*Caer Weridd*," as one should say, the *green city*, happily of that fresh *green hill*; but I leave this to others."\* Whether, as *Leland* positively asserts, the "*Wery Wall*" were *parts of the priory* of LANCASTER,† or, as *Camden*, *West*, and others, believe, it was part of the *Roman wall*; the name is certainly favourable to this hypothesis, which is still further confirmed by the existing names of "*Caer Green*," and the "*Green Area*," called in *Speed's* map, the "*Greene Ayre*."‡ At the same time it must be conceded that "*Caer Weridd*" does not appear among the thirty-three *British* cities enumerated by *Nennius*.

*murum*, et קריה urbem vocant." Both these Hebrew words are from קרר to meet, join, for, in a city, people meet, and a wall meets or opposes. *Cair Legion*. *Cestria* sive *Westchester*. Eadem quæ *Bedæ* lib. ii. *Hist.* cap. ii., est *civitas Legionum*; quæ à gente *Anglorum* *Legacæster*, a *Britonibus* autem rectius *Carlegion* appellatur.—Vide *Historiam Eccles. Gentis Anglorum*, *Latine et Anglo-Saxonice curâ Johannis Smith, Cantabrigiæ*, fol., 1722, p. 656, 17; et 658, 47—51.

\* "Hoc enim oppidum illi [Britanni] *Caer Weridd*, i. urbem viridem dixerunt, a viridante forsitan illo colle, sed hæc viderint alii."—*Camd. Britan.*, p. 620. *Ed.*, 1690.

† *Itin.* vol. vii. p. 48.

‡ Several suggestions have been made respecting the present designation of the lower part of the town, "*the Green Area*," which, though thus spelt, is usually pronounced "*the Green Ayre*." This name is said to be given to such spots as are surrounded, and occasionally inundated, by water. *Ayre* is a *river*; and various places near the town, which are all subject to inundation, are similarly termed. Hence we have "*Whinney Area*," "*Rabbit Area*," "*Net Area*," and "*Salt Area*." In *Kendal* are two pieces of land, subjected in the same way to inundation by the river *Kent*, which are called respectively the "*Salt Area*" and "*Sand Area*." The "*Green Area*" appears to have been formerly an island,



The following account of the early origin of LANCASTER, may amuse our readers, though it may not serve to carry conviction to their minds as to the matter of fact:—

“*Gurguintus*, or *Gurguint Brabtrue*, or, according to others, *barbarous*, which is as much as to say, with the red beard, or red-bearded, the son and successor of the renowned *Bellinus*, began to sway the sceptre of *Great Britain* in the year of the world’s creation 4834.\* This king in the *English Chronicles* you shall find named after *Corinbratus*, or *Corinbatus*; *Vitus Comel. Palatinus* calls him *Gurguntius Ahenobarbus*, and saith, ‘He was *vir admodum prudens, qui gesta patris imitanda sibi proposcuit, maximus amator pacis et æquitatis* :’ a most prudent man, and one who set before his eyes the glorious acts of his father as a pattern for himself to follow and imitate, a great lover of equity, peace, and justice.

“Being now fully settled in his royal throne, and having purchased the loyal affection of his nobles and commons, he begins to cast his eye upon *Denmark*, (which as you have heard before, by the taking of *Guilthdacus* the prince thereof, was made tributary unto *Brittain* by imposing a yearly tribute of one thousand pounds to the successive kings of this isle,) which, by what reason induced, or upon what hopes encouraged,

as the other “Areas” now are. This hypothesis seems strengthened by the fact that a *mill* originally stood in Dam-side street; and that when, some few years ago, alterations were made in that part of the town which is known by the name of “Under the Gardens,” piles were found, as though they had formed the basis of an embankment.

\* Other Chroniclers say 3588.

utterly refused to be any longer subject to a foreign power; *Gurguint* not willing to be baffled by those whom his father had subdued, nor desirous to pocket up the loss of a thousand pounds per annum, musters up his forces, and in short time appears at the head of a gallant army; which being in all points equipide, he ships his men in a navy furnished, and with prosperous succeſſe, in short time arrives in *Denmark*; where not delaying any opportunity, he falls to destroy, waste, and ransack the country, supposing that to be the speediest and most ready way to bring businesse to a wish'd catastrophe. The *Danes* startle at the sudden and unexpected approach of so dangerous and unlook'd for a guest; the *Danish* king, at his wits' end, not knowing which way to turn himself, seeing all things go to rack, and no way to give redresse or remedy, thinks it better to enjoy his kingdome, paying a small tribute, rather than to be unking'd, and thrust out of all, and compell'd to beg assistance from neighbouring princes to be re-invested: upon these cogitations, he consults with his nobles and barrons, who all accord to avoid the extremity of peril, to pay the tribute, and to give what security the conquering enemy shall think fit.

"*Gurguintus* is not mispleased with their submission; but after so victorious an enterprize, with great glory and triumph, endeavoureth a speedy return into his own kingdome; but being now with his whole fleet on the main ocean, a navy of about thirty sayl is discovered upon the coast of the isle of *Orcades*, which seemeth to

make towards them; yet upon a nearer approach they appear to be men, women, and children, who being expelled from their native soyl, wander up and down to seek some place of rest and habitation. *Gurguint* commands the commander-in-chief, whom our historians call *Bartholomew*, to be brought aboard his ship; who after some few interrogatories, in a lamentable oration setting forth both his own and his companions' disastrous calamities, he gave the king to understand that they were of *Spain*, and of that province whose inhabitants were called *Balenses*, and that they had long travelled up and down to find some propitious prince who would compassionate their most sad and lamentable condition, and grant them some small angle or canton to settle themselves and posterity; for the obtaining of which laudable favour, they would become his most faithful liege people and subjects; otherwise, their victuals and provisions being now almost quite spent, they were in all probability like to starve and be utterly ruined. These sad accidents were spoken with such a doleful expression by *Bartholomew*, that *Gurguint* being a king endued with the virtues of justice and mercy, gave compassion free accesse into his bosome, and consulting with his counsel, it was generally decreed that they should have allotted unto them the then voyd and waste country, which was and is the farthest of all the isles towards the west, called *Ireland*, which was in the time of *Aristotle*, on the ancient order of the book '*Peri tou Kosmou*,' of the world, called *Ierna*, so doth *Theodore* name

it; *Claudius Ptolemæus* calls it *Ivernia*, or *Hibernia*, and *Claudianus*, *Hyberne*:

*‘Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Hyberne.’*

*Ireland*, which some of the ancients call *Hibernia*, others *Ivernia*, *Innernia*, and *Irene*, and *Ogygia*, and by the *Irish* themselves, *Erin*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Little Brittain*, lies between *Brittain* and *Spain*; where we see the name of *Scotland* is never attributed simply unto it by these authors’ judgments, either by the *Irish* themselves, or other writers, late or ancient.

“If it be true which the *Irish* writers affirm, their island may justly be called *Ogygia*, (that is, *very ancient*;) for they aver *Cesara* to have been inhabited before the deluge; and the history of *Brittany* avoucheth, that *Hiberus* and *Hermio*, two *Spaniards*, many ages after, by the appointment of *Gurguint*, king of *Great Brittain*, inhabited it with their colonies and planters. I will neither say it nor gainsay it, quoth *Cambden*, but certainly it is very probable that *Ireland* was very anciently inhabited when mankind was dispersed and spread abroad over the face of the whole earth; and manifest it is, the first inhabitants to have come thither out of *Brittannia*, for in the *Irish* speech there are multitudes of *British* words and accents; and as *Cornelius Tacitus* tells us, the mode of the *Irish* differs not much from the *Brittains*. And for a conclusion of this discourse, by the most ancient writers that island is called *Brittannica* or *Brittish*; and evident it is, that when the *Roman* valour and glory had conquered and spread itself almost throughout the

whole known world, driven as well out of *Spain* as *France* and *Brittain*, fled thither for shelter, not willing to submit their necks and shoulders under the *Roman* yoke, which was indeed the very cause that moved *Julius Agricola* to persuade the *Romans* to get possession of *Ireland*, if they ever meant to keep the *Brittains* in subjection. And although that island was of great consequence and necessary to the *Romans*, neither were their posts and havens by reason of the daily commerce and traffic to them unknown; and *Julius Agricola* having got a certain *Irish* petty king into his clutches, driven by sedition from his native soyl, intended to make him his decoy to seize and fasten upon the *Irish* jurisdiction; yet for all these stratagems, *Ireland* never came under the *Roman* slavery or obedience.

"*Gurguint* being hitherto victorious and fortunate, returns home, having his head enriched with laurels of choicest honour and renown, being a prince of singular prudence and justice, and having laid the sword aside, he applies himself to build cities and towns for the great beauty of his kingdom; the first place which he erected was (as saith *Howes* citing *J. Rouse*) *Caier Werith*, that is LANCASTER. \* \* The next town which *Gurguintus* (as *Howes* calls him) built, was *Porchester*, in *Hampshire*. The third and last place which this fortunate prince built, was *Warwick*."\*

\* *Cambria triumphans*, by Percy Enderbie, Gent., 1661, *London*, fol., lib. ii., pp. 57—59.

## CHAPTER III.

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“Far to the North, where bold *Brigantian* kings  
Ruled awful.”

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British history, continued—The Brigantes—Original possessions of—Situation—Ptolemy’s account of boundaries—The Setantii, Sistantii, or Sistuntii—Who they were—Volantii confederate with the Setantii—Both overcome and incorporated with the Brigantes under Venutius—Capital of the Brigantian kingdom—Isurium—Troubles of Venutius—Deposed by his wife Cartismandua and her paramour Volocatus—Reinstated in his kingdom—Tacitus’ character of Venutius—Brigantes resist the Romans—Overcome by Petilius Cerealis—Brigantes thereupon retire northwards—Incursions on the Roman provinces—Hadrian’s *prætentura*—*Mæatæ*, who fight against the Romans under Lollius Urbicus, who eventually overcame them—Hadrian raises a second rampart, which is broken through by the Brigantes, who attack the Roman districts—Emperor Severus takes the field against them in person—Erects a stone wall, guarded by a chain of forts or military stations—Severus retires to York, bowed down by age and increasing infirmities—Thereupon the hopes of the *Mæatæ* and Caledonians revive—Re-commence hostilities—Attacked by Caracalla, who on the death of his father Severus, negotiates a peace, and returns to the southern part of Britain—Camden’s account of the Brigantes—Lancashire, part of the Western Brigantes—The Pro-prætor Petilius Cerealis receives their submission, A.D. 70—The complete conquest of the Brigantes effected by Julius Agricola, in his second campaign in Britain.

ALTHOUGH very little satisfactory information can be adduced relating to the state of political or civil society antecedent to the *Roman* conquest of *Britain*, yet Mr. *Whittaker* offers a few conjectural remarks on this subject, which, if not demon-

strative, appear rational, and as they have peculiar reference to this county, we shall quote them.

“The singular nature of the towns in *Lancashire* before the entrance of the *Romans* into it, was the necessary result of that life of hunting and grazing, which is the natural employment of man in the infancy of society, and which in all the northern regions of the island, when the arts of agriculture were totally unpractised, was peculiarly the employment of the natives. The towns of the *Britons*, were not places of perpetual and general residence; they were all places of refuge amidst the dangers of war, where they might occasionally lodge their wives, their children, and their cattle, and where the weaker might occasionally assist the stronger until succours could arrive. And, as before the *Roman* invasion they had known no other enemies than their *Celtic* brethren, who like themselves were always eager to decide the contest by a battle in the field, neither the one nor the other could be expected to have any considerable skill in the science of fortification. But the *Britons* certainly possessed a greater portion of it than our critics are willing to allow them. Their fortresses were planted in the centre of their woods, were defended by the natural advantages of the site, and were fortified by the felling of trees to obstruct the advance, and by the formation of a bank and a ditch, to prevent the irruptions of the enemy. And they resisted the attacks of the best troops, under the command of the best officers in the world, and so gained from the greatest of the

latter, the repeated commendation of excellent fortifications.”\*

*Julius Cæsar* observes, that he found the sea coasts peopled with *Belgians*, who still retained the names of the several states whence they were descended. Colony propelling colony, still farther into the country, these, in process of time, formed themselves into petty states, seventeen of which were established in *Britain*, before the arrival of the *Romans*.

After taking possession of the woody region of *Lancashire*, the colonists received the name of *Setantii*, *Sistantii*, or *Sistuntii*, a denomination expressive of their maritime situation, signifying the *country of waters*. The *Voluntii*, or *Volantii*, were also a colony of the same people, which had settled in *Westmoreland* and *Cumberland*.†

According to *Ptolemy*, the inhabitants of the country between the lofty ridge which now separates *Yorkshire* from *Lancashire*, and the bay of *Morecambe*, bore the name of *Setantii*, or *Segantii*,‡ *Sistuntii*, or *Sistantii*, for the name is variously spelled. This appellation according to the interpretation of the learned historian of *Manchester*,

\* *Whittaker's Manchester*, Vol. 1., p. 4, 5, 10. *Cæsar*, *Clarke's Edition*, p. 92. *Cognoscit non longè ex loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse, sylvis paludibus que munitum: quò satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum autem Britanni vocant quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt.*—*Locum reperit egregiè naturâ atque opere munitum.*—P. 87. *Se in sylvis abdiderunt, locum nacti egregiè naturâ et opere munitum—quem—jam ante preparaverant; nam, crebris arboribus succisis, omnes introitus erant præclusi.*—See also *Strabo*, page 306, *Amstel.*, 1707., and more particularly *Dio*. p. 227.

† *Whittaker's History of Manchester*, vol. 1, chap. 1.

‡ This is the reading of the *Palatine M.S.* The anonymous *Ravennas* calls them *Sistuntiaci*, more probably *Seguntiaci*.—*Vide Baxter in voc.*



was expressive of the maritime situation of the tribe, and either "simply signifies the *country of water* ; or discriminately, the *interior* and *southern* country of water : thereby expressive of the particular position of *Lancashire*, with respect to the *Volantii*,\* and the sea."

"*Setantii* must have been the original appellation of the original colonists ; and *Sistantii* or *Sistuntii*, must have been conferred on them when new colonists had taken possession of *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*, and when accuracy was obliged to distinguish one from the other."†

The *Brigantes* were for a long time limited within the counties of what are now called *York* and *Durham*, but overcharged, in all probability, with their own numbers, about the commencement of the Christian æra, they detached a strong party across the hills which extend from *Derbyshire* to *Scotland*, and into the countries of the *Sistuntii* and *Volantii*, beyond them. These, apprehensive of the invasion, and providing against the danger, seem wisely to have entered into a strict and intimate alliance. They entered, however, in vain ; unable with their united forces, to resist the vigour of their invaders, they were obliged to submit, and both were reduced under the dominion of the *Brigantian* capital, *Iseur*.‡

"This class or tribe of *Britons* occupied the northern parts of *Westmoreland* and all *Cumberland* ; having *Volanty*, or *Elenborough*, for their capital.—See *Cambrian Register*, vol. 2, p. 14.

† Whittaker's *History of Manchester*, 4to. Vol. 1, p. 7.

‡ *Iseur*, the capital of the *Brigantes*, in British times ; and the name of which place was probably derived from the river *Isere*, which rising in the Alps, on the confines of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, passes

"*Ptolemy*, in the eleventh book and third chapter of his Geography, fixes the limits of the dominions of the *Brigantes*, according to the best exposition of that author, after this manner. The *Brigantes* are bounded on the north side by the two rivers *Vedra* and *Ituna*. By the river *Vedra* is to be understood *Tyne*, and by the *Ituna* is meant the river *Eden* and *Solway Frith*; and *Ptolemy* says expressly, that the *Brigantes*' dominions reach from sea to sea. The limits of the *Brigantes* on the south, *Ptolemy* fixes thus, according to those who have explained him, the river *Abus* on the south-east; by *Abus* we must understand *Humber*; and on the south-west, *Ptolemy* makes the *Brigantes* and *Ordovices* to join one upon another. By this rule, the *Brigantes* reached as far as the river *Deva*; and Dr. *Gale* endeavours to prove that *Chester* belonged to the *Brigantes*, because of an altar found in that city, which was inscribed and dedicated to the goddess, *Brigantia*. According to these limits of the dominions of the *Brigantes*, *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*; all these five counties made up the dominions of the *Brigantes*. So that the *Brigantes* possessed the largest dominions of any people in all *Britain* in the time of the *Romans*."\*

The following is *Camden's* account of these ancient *Britons* :—

"This was a people stout and numerous; and is very much commended by the better sort of

through part of Dauphiny, and empties itself into the Rhine, near Valence. Here reigned, before the year A.D. 50, Venutius and his queen Cartismandua.—*History of Knaresbro'* p. 279.

\* Rauthmal's *History of Overborough*, p. 39, 40.

ancient writers; who all name them *Brigantes*, except *Stephanus* in his book of *Cities*, who calls them *Brigæ*. What he says of them in that place, we know not; the sentence where he speaks about them being imperfect in the copies we have at this day. If I should imagine that these *Brigantes* were so called from *Briga*, which among the old *Spaniards* signified a *city*; 'tis a conjecture I could not acquiesce in, because it is evident from *Strabo* that this is a pure *Spanish* word. Or if I should think with *Goropius*, that these *Brigantes* were derived from a *Belgic* word *Free-hands* (*i.e.* *liberi manibus*;) what were it but to obtrude his dreams upon people that are waking? But whatever becomes of these opinions, our *Britains* at this day, if they observe a fellow of a resolute, restless, intruding temper, will twit him by saying that 'he plays the *Brigans*':\* and the *French* at this day call the same sort of men *Brigand*, and Pirate ships *Brigantin*; which are probably remains of the old *Gaulish*. But whether the word had that signification in the old *Gaulish* or *British* languages, and whether our *Brigantes* were of that temper, I dare not affirm. Yet if my memory fail me not, *Strabo* calls the *Brigantines* (a people of the *Alps*) *Gras-satores*, *i.e.* robbers and plunderers; and *Julius Belgæ*, a desperately bold youth (who looked upon power, authority, and virtue to be no more than mere empty names,) is in *Tacitus* surnamed *Briganticus*. And our *Brigantes* seem to have been a little guilty of that humour; who were

\* *Brigantem agit*.—*Pasquierus*, *Les Recherches de France*, lib. 6. c. 40.

so very troublesome to their neighbours, that *Antoninus Pius* dispossessed them of a great part of their territories for no other reason, as *Pausanias* tells us,—“*Antoninus Pius* deprived the *Brigantes* in *Britain* of much of their lands; because they began to make incursions into *Genounia*, a region under the jurisdiction of the *Romans*.”\* I hope none will construe this as a reproach: for my part, I should be unlike myself should I now go to scandalize any private person much less a whole nation. Nor was this indeed any reproach in that warlike age, when all right was in the longest sword. “Robberies (says *Cæsar*) among the *Germans* are not in the least infamous, so they be committed without the bounds of their respective cities; and this they tell you they practise with a design to exercise their youth, and to keep them from sloth and laziness. Upon such an account also, the *Pæones* among the *Greeks* had that name from being *strikers* or *beaters*;† as the *Quadi* among the *Germans*, and also the *Chaldæans* had their’s from being *robbers* and *plunderers*.”‡

“When *Florianus del Campo*, a *Spaniard*, out of a piece of vanity, carried the *Brigantes* out of

\* “Various interpretations have been given of this word. *Brigantes*: from the Spanish *Briga*, a city; or from the Belgic *Brigantes*, free lands, rather than from the French, *Brigands*, piratical marauders.”—*Baines’ Lancashire*, vol. 2, p. 1.

“*Brigantes*, q. d. *Brigantwoys*, or first comers.”—*Warrington’s History of Wales*.

“*Brigantes*, from *Brig*, which implies, in the British, a summit, or upper situation; and in its derivative forms *Brigantwoys*, the people of the summits, or of the upper regions.”—See *Cambrian Register*, vol. 2.

† *Percussores*.

‡ *Grassatores*.

*Spain into Ireland*, and from thence into *Britain*, without any manner of grounds, but that he found the city *Brigantia* in *Spain*; I am afraid he carried himself from the truth. For, if it may not be allowed that our *Brigantes* and those in *Ireland* had the same name\* upon the same account; I had rather, with my learned friend Mr. *Thomas Savil*, conjecture that some of our *Brigantes*, with others of the *British* nations, retired into *Ireland* upon the coming over of the *Romans*. Some, for the sake of ease and quietness; others, to keep their eyes from being witnesses of the *Roman* insolence; and others again, because that liberty which nature had given them and their younger years had enjoyed, they would not now quit in their old age.

“However, that the emperor *Claudius*, was the first of all the *Romans* who made an attempt upon our *Brigantes*, and subjected them to the *Roman* yoke, may be gathered from the verses of *Seneca*.† Yet I have always thought that they

\* Some copies call those in Ireland the Birgantes. We find in Ptolemy a tribe of Brigantes in Southern Hibernia between the rivers Birgus (Barrow) and Dabrona (Blackwater) occupying the space included in the modern counties of Waterford and Tipperary. They are supposed by some to have emigrated from Britain.

† In *Ludo* :—

Ille Britannos,

Ultra noti littora ponti et cæruleos  
Scuta Brigantes, dare Romulæis colla catenis  
Jussit, et ipsum nova Romanæ jura securis  
Tremere oceanum.’

’Twas he whose all-commanding yoke  
The farthest Britons gladly took,  
Him the Brigantes in blue arms adored,  
When the vast ocean feared his power,  
Restrained with laws unknown before,  
And trembling Neptune served a Roman lord.’

D

were not *conquered*, but rather surrendered themselves to the *Romans*; because what he has mentioned in a poetical manner, is not confirmed by historians. For *Tacitus* tells us, that then *Ostorius* having new conquests in his eye, was drawn back by some mutinies among the *Brigantes*; and that after he had put some few to the sword, he easily quieted the rest. At which time, the *Brigantes* were governed by *Cartismandua*, a noble lady, who delivered up king *Caractacus* to the *Romans*. This brought in wealth, and that, luxury; so that laying aside her husband *Venutius*, she married *Vellocatus* (his armour bearer), and made him sharer with her in the government. This villany was the overthrow of her house, and gave rise to a bloody war. The city stood up for the husband; and the queen's lust and cruelty, for the adulterer. She, by craft and artifice, got *Venutius's* brother and nearest relations cut off. *Venutius* could no longer brook this infamy, but called in succours; by whose assistance partly, and partly by the defection of the *Brigantes*, he reduced *Cartismandua* to the utmost extremity. The garrisons, wings, and cohorts, with which the *Romans* furnished her, brought her off in several battles; yet so, that *Venutius* kept the kingdom, and left nothing but the war to the *Romans*; who could not subdue the *Brigantes* before the time of *Vespasian*. For then *Petilius Cerealis* came against this people, with whom he fought several battles, not without much bloodshed, and either wasted or conquered a great part of the *Brigantes*. But whereas *Tacitus* has told us, that this queen of the *Brigantes* delivered

*Caractacus* prisoner to *Claudius*, and that he made up a part of *Claudius's* triumph; it is a manifest *antichronismos*\* in that excellent author, as *Lipsius* (that great master of ancient learning) has long ago observed. For neither was *Caractacus* (prince of the *Silures*) in that triumph of *Claudius*; nor yet *Caractacus*, son of *Cunobelin* (for so the *Fasti* call the same person, that *Dio* names *Catacratus*), over whom *Aulus Plautius*, if not the same year, at least the very next after, triumphed by way of ovation.† But these things I leave to the search of others, though something I have said of them before."

"In the time of *Hadrian*, when (as *Ælius Spartianus* has it) the *Britains* could no longer be kept under the *Roman* yoke; our *Brigantes* seem to have revolted amongst the rest, and to have raised some very notable commotion. Else, why should *Juvenal* (who was a contemporary) say,

'Dirus *Mauorum* attegias, et castra *Brigantum*.'

*Brigantick* forts and *Moorish* booths pull down.

"And afterwards, in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, they seem not to have been over submissive; since that emperor (as we observed) dispossessed them of part of their territories, for invading the province of *Genunia* or *Guinethia*, an ally of the *Romans*.

"If I thought I should escape the censure of criticks (who presuming upon their wit and niceness, do now-a-days take a strange liberty), methinks I could correct an error or two in *Tacitus*, relating to the *Brigantes*. One is in the 12th book of his

\* A fault in time.

† *Ovans* triumphavit.

'Annals,' where he writes that *Venutius* (the person we just now mentioned) belonged to the city of the *Jugantes*, 'è civitate *Jugantum*.' I would read it *Brigantum*, which also *Tacitus* himself, in the third book of his 'History,' seems to confirm. The other is in the 'Life of *Agricola* : ' *Brigantes* (says he) foeminâ duce, exurere coloniam,' &c., i. e. the *Brigantes*, under the conduct of a woman, began to set fire to the colony. Here, if we will follow the truth, we are to read *Trinobantes* ; for he speaks of queen *Boodicea*, who had nothing to do with the *Brigantes* ; whereas it was she that stirred up the *Trinobantes* to rebellion, and burnt the colony *Camalodunum* (*Maldon*).

"This large country of the *Brigantes* grows narrower and narrower ; and is cut in the middle (like *Italy* with the *Appennine*) by a continued ridge of mountains, that separate the counties into which it is at present divided. For under these mountains, towards the east and the *German* ocean, lay *Yorkshire* and the bishoprick of *Durham* ; to the west, *Lancashire*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland* :\* all which counties, in the infancy of the *Saxon* government, were contained under the kingdom of the *Deiri*. For the *Saxons* called these countries in general, the 'kingdom of *Northumberland*;' dividing it into two parts, *Deira* (called in that age, *Deir-land*), which is nearer, namely, on this side

\* When the Romans divided the island into provinces, *Cumberland* was inhabited as far as *Hadrian's wall* on the north, according to the statement of *Mr. Whittaker*, by the *Volantii*, or *Voluntii*, the people of the forests, whose name seems to have been derived from the British term, *Gwyllaint*, which signifies a region abounding with coverts or wilds.—See *Cambrian Register*, vol. 2.



the river *Tyne*; and *Bernicia*, the farther, reaching from the *Tyne* to the *Frith of Edenburrow*. Which parts, though for some time they had their different kings, yet at last, they came all under one kingdom. And to take notice of this by the way; where we read in the Life of *Charles the Great*,\* ‘*Eardulphus, rex Nordanhumbroborum, i. e. De Irland, patriâ pulsus ad Carolum Magnum venit,*’ for *De Irland* we are to read *Deir-land*; and so to understand it, that he went over to *Charles the Great* out of this country, and not from *Ireland*.”†

The historical notices concerning the *Brigantes*, in *Roman* authors, are extremely unsatisfactory; and the events recorded by them as having taken place in this part of *Britain*, are so inconsistently related, that it becomes hardly possible to arrange them with precision. From an obscure passage in *Tacitus*, it appears that they had early formed an alliance with the *Romans*, and preserved every engagement inviolate, till the conjugal infidelity of *Cartismandua*,‡ their queen, involved the nation in a civil war. The *Brigantes* were divided; one party supported the cause of *Venutius*, the injured husband; the other attached themselves to the queen, who with her paramour *Volocatus*,§ adding cruelty to libertinism, destroyed the brother and relations of *Venutius* by treachery. This base act so exasperated the people, that they revolted from her service, and joining the forces of *Venutius*, would quickly have overpowered her, but for the conduct of the *Romans*, who, thinking the oppor-

\* Page 272, *Annal. Franc.*, 8vo. † *Camden, Brit.* p. 703—706.

‡ *Tacitus, Ann.*, lib. xiv. § *Or, Velloatus.*

tunity favourable for a further assumption of power, sent some cohorts to her assistance, and, by their aid, the army of *Venutius* was driven from the field, after a fierce and sanguinary conflict. *Tacitus* has represented *Venutius* as the ablest commander which the *Britons* at this time had; and his bravery appears to have been equal to his skill, for his exertions were animated by defeat, and his succeeding attacks were executed with such rapidity and judgment that his perfidious queen was driven from her throne, and himself reinstated. Even the *Romans* were obliged to content themselves with a partial extension of their line of forts; and it was not till the reign of *Vespasian*, nearly twenty years afterwards, that the *Brigantes* were subdued by that people. Their country was then overcome by *Petilius Cerealis*, who defeated them in several severe battles, and spread desolation and terror through those parts which he could not entirely subdue.

The *Brigantes*, who refused to crouch to the imperial Eagle, retired northwards, and, assisted by the *Caledonian Britons*, descended from the northern mountains like ferocious wolves, and, by their frequent and destructive incursions, so desolated the *Roman* provinces that *Hadrian* found it necessary to repel their attacks by erecting a pretentura, or rampart of turf, which extended across the present counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, from the mouth of the river *Tyne*, on the east, to *Solway Frith* on the west; thus reaching from sea to sea. From this æra, all the territory of the *Brigantes*, south of the rampart, may be considered

as completely subjugated. The *Brigantes* who settled north of *Hadrian's* wall, appear to have assumed the name of *Mæatæ*,\* and to have held the sway of the *Romans* in such abhorrence, that they continually endeavoured to involve their possessions in destruction. In the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, they fought several severe battles with the *Romans* under *Lollius Urbicus*, who at length conquered the whole country as far as the isthmus which separates the *Frieths* of *Forth* and *Clyde*. Across this isthmus, in imitation of *Hadrian*, and by the emperor's order, he raised a second rampart, exactly upon the tract where *Agricola* before had erected a chain of forts.† But this was soon broken through by the fierce enemy, who made many irruptions into the *Roman* districts, and, generally, with such success, that the emperor *Severus*, about the year 207, determined to take the

\* "The ancient historians describe the *Caledonians* and *Mæatæ* as entirely resembling each other in their manners and customs, both in war and peace. Their arms were the same as those used by their ancestors in the time of *Agricola*. For *offence*, they were provided with a short spear, a broad-sword, a dirk, and a javelin; for *defence*, they had nothing but a small target. They lived in huts, having no houses, towns, nor villages; their food was chiefly the milk and flesh of their cattle, and the game they took in hunting, together with the fruits that the soil naturally yielded. They are said to have had some sort of food, or rather medicine, a quantity of which, no bigger than a bean, prevented all sense of hunger and thirst, and of this they made use in their long marches. They abstained totally from fish, though their seas and rivers contained it in great plenty. Instead of dress, they painted their bodies, which were mostly naked. Property was very little regarded by them. They were swift, and sure of foot; patient of toil, hunger, thirst, and other hardships. They had horses, small but fleet, and retained their ancient custom of fighting in chariots. In almost all these particulars, and also in their language, they resembled the *Brigantes*, with whom they appear to have been originally the same people."—*Ridpath's Border History*.

† See *Strutt's Chronicle of England*, part 1.

field against them in person. He therefore proceeded to the north, and entered *Caledonia* at the head of a great army; and, notwithstanding the innumerable obstacles which impeded his march in a wild and trackless country, continued his progress with such a firm and undeviating step, that the affrighted inhabitants were glad to obtain peace by the surrender of a considerable portion of territory. When the agreement was ratified, *Severus* returned into *Britain*, and having inspected the wall of *Hadrian*, conceived it much too weak to prevent the entrance of the northern enemy. He, therefore caused another to be built of stone, strengthened with an outward ditch, and guarded by a chain of forts or military stations. Many vestiges of this stupendous work are yet to be seen; it was conducted nearly parallel with the rampart of *Hadrian*, and like that extended from *Tynemouth* in *Northumberland*, to the *Solway Frith*, on the western coast of the County of *Cumberland*. When this laborious undertaking was completed, *Severus* retired to *York*, where his age and increasing infirmities confined him to his chamber. His indisposition inspired the *Mæatae* and *Caledonians* with new hopes: they again commenced hostilities, and, by this breach of faith, so highly exasperated the Emperor that he resolved on their utter extirpation; yet, being too much afflicted with disease to execute his vengeance in person, he trusted the command of his forces to his son *Caracalla*, who led the army to the north; but on the death of his father, which soon afterwards ensued, he hastily concluded a peace, and

returned to the southern part of *Britain*, the more effectually to prosecute his claims to the empire. From this period the notices of historians are so vague and unsatisfactory, that nothing respecting the northern *Brigantes* can be asserted with precision; both their names and customs seem to have been lost in appellations still more uncouth, and in manners still more brutal. By these ravagers, whom historians have generally distinguished under the appellation of *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Attacotes*, the walls were very frequently broken through, and the contiguous districts depopulated in the most savage and unrelenting manner.\*

The victorious *Agricola* completed the conquest of the *Brigantes* about A. D. 79; after which that consummate general remained some time amongst them, erecting fortresses to secure his conquests; while, at the same time, he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the *Britons* by every possible display of politeness and humanity; rivetting their chains by incitements to luxury and the charms of dissipation, encouraging and assisting them in building spacious temples, magnificent galleries, sumptuous baths, and places for public assemblies.†

About this time, it is probable, that *Agricola*, preferring the situation to that of *Iseur*, laid the foundations of *Eboracum*,‡ which soon afterwards became the head quarters of the *Roman* army.

*Dion Cassius*, the *Roman* historian, who was living about the time when the Emperor *Severus*

\* Beauties of England and Wales, Vol. iii., p. 3—6.

† Tacitus, de Vita Agricola.

‡ Drake's Antiquities of York.

kept his court in that city, says, "*Eboracum* was raised to the same dignity under the *Roman* government, which *Iseur* had previously enjoyed under the *British*."\* To this city came vessels laden with corn for the maintenance of the *Prætenturas*, by water as far as *Cambridge*, about two hundred and fifty miles; for which purpose the *Carsdike* of *Lincolnshire* was made, which being repaired and lengthened by *Carausius*, his name was affixed to it. Here were large granaries to lay up the corn out of the boats, whence it was carried along the present *Roman* road, called *Leeming-lane*, to the northern garisons.

The *British* inhabitants of *Lancashire*, *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and as far as *Craven*, in the County of *York*, were denominated *Western Brigantes* to distinguish them from that portion of the tribe inhabiting the *Eastern* coast of the island.†

"I must now turne the course of my journey another way unto the rest of the *Brigantes*, on the farther side of the hills toward the *Irish* sea; and first unto *Lancashire*, which I goe unto (God speed me well) after a sorte somewhat against my will; for I feare me that I shall not satisfie myself and muche less the reader. For very few things fell out to my desire, when I travailed over the greatest part thereof, the old names in every place have been so worn out by the continual assault of time. But lest I might be thought to neglect the hearty good *Lancashire* men, I will proceed in

\* Ptolemy, and Richard of Cirencester, p. 27.

† Rauthmel's Antiquities of Overborough.

hope that God's assistance which hitherto has been favourable unto me, will not now fail me."\*

The following is *Camden's* description of this County at the period referred to:—

"Under those mountains, which (as I have often saide heretofore) shoot along through the middle of *England*, and interpose themselves as umpires and boundaries between divers shires, *Lancashire* lyeth towards the west, in the *English Saxon* tongue *Lonca-ces-shire*, commonly termed *Lonkashire*, and the countie palatine of LANCASTER, because it is notably known by the title of a County Palatine. It is so enclosed between *Yorkshire* on the east side, and the *Irish* sea on the west, that on the south side, where it boundeth upon *Cheshire*, it is broader, and little by little, the more northward it goeth, where it confineth upon *Westmoreland*, and the narrower it groweth. And then by an arme of the sea insinuating itself, is interrupted, and hath a good part of it which butteth upon *Cumberland*, beyond the said arme."†

About the year A.D. 70, *Tacitus* speaks of the *Brigantes*, as the most considerable state in the whole province.

\* Gough's *Camden*, p. 127.

† *Camden*, p. 745. Gough's Translation, p. 127.

CHAPTER IV.  
LANCASTER UNDER THE ROMANS.

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"Per obstantes catervas  
Explicuit sua victor arma."

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"No AUTHOR within the compass of my reading, among the moderns, has ever yet acquainted us with the *name* of the *Roman* general who conquered *Lancashire*, and reduced this country to the *Roman* empire. No antiquarian has yet told us, who that *Roman* was, who erected any one of the four stations in *Lancashire*. I hope, therefore, that it will not be imputed to me as time ill spent, or time ill bestowed, if I attempt this difficult task; and if, upon trial, I fall short in my proofs, I still flatter myself I shall merit pardon, while I am endeavouring to bring honor to mine own country, the *Western Brigantes*; by attempting to prove who that *Roman* general was, who instructed and initiated the *Western Brigantes*, the first people of all the *Britons*, in the dress, language, arts, and accomplishments of the *Romans*.



“In order, therefore, to bring to light this dark part of the history of our country, I propose to do these four things.

“First, to prove from *Tacitus*, that *Julius Agricola*, who was pro-prætor in *Britain* under *Flavius Vespasian* the emperor, was commander of the legions here, and was the person who subdued *Lancashire*, with the rest of the *Western Brigantes*, and reduced them to the *Roman* empire.

“Secondly, I shall prove from the same historian, that the utmost extent of *Agricola's* conquest, in the same year that he conquered *Lancashire*, was from about the mouth of the river *Deva* south, to *Solway Frith* and the river *Eden* and *Tyne* north, where he ended the campaign of this year. Then, from the military way I shall also prove, that the breadth of *Agricola's* conquests this year, to the east, was no further than about *Skipton* and *Westmoreland*. So that the whole of *Agricola's* conquests this year, was *Craven*, in *Yorkshire*, *Westmoreland*, *Lancashire*, and *Cumberland*.

“Thirdly, I shall prove from the express words of *Tacitus*, that *Julius Agricola* erected stations in *Lancashire*; and they must be these four, *Bremetonacæ* (Overborough), *Mancunium* (Manchester), *Longovicus* (LANCASTER), *Coccium* (Ribchester): which four stations I shall prove to be erected by *Julius Agricola*, the same year in which he conquered *Lancashire*.

“Fourthly, I shall prove out of *Tacitus* that *Agricola* spent a whole winter among the *Western Brigantes*, whom he had conquered the summer before, instructing those people in the dress, language, arts, and accomplishments of the *Romans*.

“First, I am to prove that *Julius Agricola* conquered *Lancashire*.

“In the eighteenth chapter of *Agricola's* Life, *Tacitus* acquaints us, that *Agricola* coming into *Britain*, to take upon him the command of the legions here, he goes into the country of the *Ordovices* where the legions were. The *Ordovices* had just then destroyed almost a whole wing of the *Roman* horse. *Agricola* assembles his troops, falls upon the *Ordovices*, and destroyed almost the whole nation of them.

“By the *Ordovices* are meant the inhabitants of *North Wales*. After this *Tacitus* acquaints us that *Agricola* invaded the island of *Mona*. By *Mona* in *Tacitus* is meant the island of *Anglesea*. This is plain, because *Tacitus* expressly observes, that *Agricola* went out of the country of the *Ordovices* into the isle of *Mona* without ships; and therefore *Agricola* ordered all the soldiers that could swim, to swim over to *Mona*. So the *Mona* of *Tacitus* is the island of *Anglesea*, as the *Mona* of *Julius Cæsar* and *Ptolemy*, is the isle of *Man*. Hence I collect from *Tacitus* that all the conquests of *Agricola's* first year's pro-prætor-ship in *Britain* was reducing the *Ordovices*, and the inhabitants of the isle of *Anglesea* to the obedience of the empire. *Agricola*, being an excellent pro-prætor, spent all the winter after in regulating the licentiousness of the legions, who hitherto had been very tyrannical over the *Britons*, and in redressing the grievances and oppressions that the *Britons* laboured under; by which actions *Julius Agricola* made himself very acceptable to the *Britons*. This same winter being

the *first* of *Agricola's* pro-prætor-ship or government over *Britain* the legions had their winter quarters among the *Ordovices*, as may be collected from *Tacitus*. Thus much for *Julius Agricola's* first year's government over *Britain*. In the beginning of the *second* year, *Tacitus* acquaints us in the twentieth chapter of *Agricola's* Life, that this general assembled the legions when warm weather came. Now it is plain from the foregoing account, that the *Roman* legions must have had their winter quarters among the *Ordovices*, which people *Agricola* had subdued the year before. But where dwelt the *Ordovices*? *Camden* derives the word *Ordovices* from the *British* words, Oar-Devi, which signify those that dwelt about the river *Deva*. And *Tacitus* putting a *Latin* termination to these two *British* words, thence came the name *Oar-devi-ces*, that is, *Ordovices*. Now, we all know where the river *Deva* is, for it retains part of the name to this day, and runs by *Chester*. Hence I collect that *Agricola* assembled his legions some-where among the *Ordovices*, or inhabitants about the river *Deva*, or *North Wales*. All the antiquarians agree in this, that the *Ordovices* inhabited *North Wales*, and about the *Deva* river. Now comes on the difficulty, to trace out which way *Agricola* marched in quest of new adventures, when he and his legions left *North Wales*. It is certain, *Agricola* and his legions did not confine themselves within the dominions of the *Ordovices*, this year, because, according to *Tacitus*, all the *Ordovices* were subdued last year, and the *Silures* or *South Wales*, had been subdued to the Empire some time before

this by the two pro-prætors, *Ostorius* and *Cerealis*. *Agricola* did not march to the south-east when he left the *Ordovices*, because all *Britain* from the south bounds to the river *Deva*, was subject at this time to the *Roman* empire; which may be collected from the *Roman* historians, or from *Tacitus* in particular. Well, then, suppose *Agricola* marched north-east amongst the *Eastern Brigantes*, that is, the east part of *Yorkshire*; this he need not do, because I can prove from the express words of *Tacitus*, that the *Eastern Brigantes* were already subdued and reduced to the obedience of the *Roman* empire, by the former pro-prætor, *Petilius Cerealis*,—‘terrorem statim intulit *Petilius Cerealis*, *Brigantum* civitatem, quæ numerosissima totius provinciæ perhibetur, ingressus, magnamque partem victoriâ amplexus aut bello:’ and what part of the *Brigantes* this was, which *Cerealis* had subdued, *Tacitus* lets us understand by ‘civitas numerosissima,’ which was not *York*, but the *Isurium* of *Ptolemy*, which *Isurium* is now the present *Aldborough*, twelve miles north-west of *York*.

“This *Isurium* of *Ptolemy*, was the capital city of the *Brigantes* according to the opinion of antiquarians, from the *Roman* monuments apparent at this day: so that we may justly calculate *Aldborough* was the ‘civitas numerosissima’ of *Tacitus*, the largest and most populous of all the *Brigantes*. In short, which way, to bring this inquiry to an issue, did *Agricola* advance in pursuit of new adventures, when he and his legions marched out of the dominions of the *Ordovices*? Let us attend nicely to the account of *Tacitus*, from which it is

plain, that *Julius Agricola* and his legions marched into the north of *Britain*; for as that historian tells us of *Agricola's* assembling the legions, in the twentieth chapter, so the same historian lets us know, in the twenty-second chapter following, that *Agricola* was arrived in *Scotland* as far as *Edinburgh Frith*. Well, but still *Agricola* might march from the dominions of the *Ordovices* and from about the river *Deva* into *Scotland*, and yet never set hostile foot into *Lancashire*. Let us still stick close to *Tacitus*, and try what we can pick out of that historian to prove that *Julius Agricola* at this very time invaded, entered, and subdued *Lancashire* with the rest of the *Western Brigantes*, which account of *Agricola*, I prove in the following manner. The very first exploit which *Tacitus*, in the twenty-sixth chapter, acquaints us with, that *Agricola* performed after that general had left the river *Deva*, was—‘*Æstuaria et silvas prætentare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursionibus popularetur; et ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare.*’ These words contain the history of *Julius Agricola's* conquest of *Lancashire*, which I explain and interpret after the following manner: that *Agricola*, marching from the river *Deva* towards *Scotland*, the first exploit he performed, according to *Tacitus* was, to attempt in person the æstuaries, and to make sudden incursions upon the inhabitants between the æstuaries, and give them not a moment's respite, &c. Now I ask, what æstuaries were there in *Agricola's* march to *Scotland*, besides the æstuaries of *Lancashire*? *Lancashire* is so

remarkable for æstuaries, that not any other county in *Britain* can produce so many, and so large ones. The æstuaries of *Lancashire* are the æstuary of *Mersey*, the æstuary of *Ribble*, the æstuary of *Lune*, and the two most remarkable ones of *Cartmel* and *Ulverston Sands*. But to make myself intelligible, what I mean by an æstuary, and what *Tacitus* too must mean by the same word: so far as the tides run up the foot of a river, so far that part of a river is to be called an æstuary. For instance, the sea tides flow up the river *Ribble* as high as *Walton*, all the river from *Walton* to the sea I call an æstuary. If *Tacitus* had designed, by endeavouring to deliver himself in the most express terms, to acquaint posterity that *Julius Agricola* subdued the inhabitants of *Lancashire*; what words could that historian have pitched upon more proper than these? ‘Æstuaria prætentare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursionibus popularetur;’ that is, *Julius Agricola* marching towards *Scotland*, when he left the river *Deva*, he first in person attempted the æstuaries. He and his legions swam over the river *Mersey*, as they had the year before swum over into the island of *Anglesea* and subdued it: so says *Tacitus*.”\*

“To what I have been advancing and endeavouring to prove; namely, that *Julius Agricola* when he left the *Ordovices*, and marched to *Scotland*, conquered *Lancashire*; it may be objected, that all this amounts to no more than that *Julius Agricola* marched along the sea coasts of *Lancashire*,

\* Rauthmel's History of Overborough, pp. 25—34.

and though he, according to *Tacitus*, conquered the inhabitants between the æstuaries all along to *Scotland*; yet this proves not that *Agricola* subdued the eastern parts of *Lancashire*. But this I can prove easily enough from *Tacitus* also, for that historian says, *Agricola* invaded the *woods* as well as the æstuaries. Now, by the *woods* I understand the inland and eastern parts of *Lancashire*, which undoubtedly abounded with woods in the time of *Agricola*. But if this will not be allowed to prove *Agricola's* invasion and conquest of the eastern parts of *Lancashire*; *Agricola's* erecting fortresses, according to the express words of *Tacitus*, and these fortresses being found at this day situated in the eastern and inland parts, are a most convincing proof of his conquest of the whole county.”\*

“*Julius Agricola* then reduced *Lancashire* to the *Roman* empire in the second year of his prætorship over *Britain*; which answers, according to *Dionysius*, the chronologer, to the year of our Lord 79, *Flavius Vespasian* and *Titus Vespasian* being consuls.”†

“I will now take *Agricola's* stations in a row from south to north, by which means I trace out the four stations of *Lancashire*; *Mancunium* (Manchester), *Coccium* (Ribchester), *Bremetonacæ* (Overborough), *Longovicus* (LANCASTER). These stations, four in number, are those which, *Tacitus* says, *Agricola* surrounded many cities with, ‘*multæ civitates præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ.*’ Where are these cities? I answer, these were cities of the *Britons*, where *Agricola* built his fortresses.

\* Rauthmel's Overborough, pp. 36—37.

† Ibid, pp. 38.

*Chester* was a city of the *Britons*, and was called 'Caer-vavar'; *Ribchester* was a city of the *Western Brigantes*, for *Ptolemy*, the geographer, numbering up the cities of the *Brigantes*, mentions 'Ribodunum,' which was the name of the old *British* city of *Ribchester*, as 'Coccium' was the name of the fortress there. That *Overborough* was a city, and a great city too, of the *Britons*, *Camden* says he learned from the inhabitants. Here it may be asked, how came *Camden* and the inhabitants to know this? I answer, they might know this very easily, because when *Camden* was at *Overborough*, which is now one hundred and fifty-six years ago,\* the old walls must have been apparent, so that by the appearance of the old ruins, which took up a great space of ground between the *Lac* and the *Lune*, according to *Camden's* words, a *British* city might be traced out; for the cities of the *Britons* were surrounded with a trench and rampart, and were round. This *Cæsar* tells us, in his description of a *British* city. The name of this city, which stood where *Overborough* now stands, I take to be *Bradboniack*, because the author of the 'Notitia,' who took a list of the garrisons in *Great Britain*, some time about the year 440, where he mentions the garrison of *Overborough*, calls it the garrison of *Braboniacum*; so that as *Braboniacum* was the name of the city of *Overborough*, *Bremetonacæ* was the name of the fortress there. LANCASTER was a city of the *Western Brigantes*, which may be proved from its *British* name. The *Britons* called LANCASTER, *Caer-werid*,

\* Written A. D. 1746.



which signifies a green city, and the old *British* name of LANCASTER is still hinted at in the name of *Green Ayre*, which is *Green Caer*, or, the Green City. But still, in all this account of these cities of the *Western Brigantes*, I am not yet come up to the meaning of *Tacitus*, viz.: ‘multæ civitates præsiidiis castellisque circumdatæ.’ From these words, the historian must mean, that *Julius Agricola* surrounded many cities with garrisons and fortresses. Now it is plain that *Agricola* built but one fortress at each of these cities. How, then, could *Agricola*, according to *Tacitus*, surround many cities with garrisons and fortresses? I answer, that *Tacitus* does not mean of those cities which had stations; but the historian must mean of those cities which are in *Lancashire*, which were surrounded and environed with these fortresses and military ways, which were laid eighty miles in length, from *Chester* to LANCASTER. That the meaning of *Tacitus* may appear in a clear light, take a view of the map of *Agricola*’s second year’s conquest of the *Western Brigantes*, at the end. And as many cities as were in *Lancashire* between the fortresses and military ways on the east, and the sea on the west, so many cities may be said to be surrounded with garrisons and fortresses. For the garrisons that were quartered in these fortresses, their business was to stand all along the military ways as sentinels and advanced guards, which they always did in time of war, and when they were under any apprehension of a revolt of the *Britons*. So that by taking a view of the military ways and fortresses down in the map, at

the end, from *Chester* to LANCASTER, eighty miles in length, and supposing the garrison of each respective fortress placed as guards and sentinels, each on their respective military ways, this gives us a clear idea, what *Tacitus* means, when he says that *Agricola* surrounded many cities with garrisons and fortresses. According to this account, the cities which *Agricola* surrounded, must stand in *Lancashire*. It will, therefore, be expected from me, to prove that there were a great many cities in *Lancashire* when *Agricola* subdued the inhabitants of this county; for *Tacitus* says, '*many cities* were surrounded with garrisons and fortresses;' and these many cities must stand in *Lancashire*. But there is no difficulty at all in this, for I do not doubt, but that there were a great many cities in *Lancashire*, when *Agricola* conquered it, which I prove thus. *Strabo*, the geographer says, that the *woods* to the *Britons* were cities; for the *Britons*, when they designed to build a city, cut down trees, then they inclosed a round plot of ground; with these trees they erected hovels to live in, and made also folds for their cattle; never fixing long in the same place. *Cæsar*, in his '*Commentaries*,' gives us much the same account of a *British* city. It is accounted a city, says he, among the *Britons*, when some thick wood is fenced in with a trench and rampart; whither to avoid the incursions of the enemy, the *Britons* retire, and take refuge in such fortified places. According to these accounts of *Strabo* and *Cæsar*, every wood in *Lancashire* must either have been a city or a town of the *Britons*. And to confirm

this account, *Tacitus* says, that *Julius Agricola* taught the *Western Brigantes* how to build houses: which shows that the houses or cities which the *Britons* had when *Agricola* came among them, were only such as *Strabo* and *Cæsar* describe; viz., hovels made by raising a few trees, end to end. Let us still proceed with examining *Tacitus's* account of those fortresses which *Agricola* erected in *Lancashire*. ‘*Multæ civitates præsiidiis castellisque circumdatæ, tantâ ratione curâque, ut nulla ante Britannîæ nova pars illaccessita transiret.*’ Many cities were environed with fortresses built with such skill and contrivance, as well as care. The next sentence, because commentators reckon it obscure, I shall put down in Sir *Henry Saville's* translation,—‘that nothing was ever attempted against them:’ whereas, no new fortified place in all *Britain* escaped before unassailed. Of all the praises which *Tacitus* bestows upon his hero, he seems most to admire *Agricola*, for that general's great skill in the construction of his fortresses. For *Tacitus* says, in another place, besides what I have already quoted, that the greatest judges have observed, that no general erected fortresses with more art than *Agricola*, for no fortress of that general's building was ever taken by storm or surprise, or abandoned.

“Let us examine one of *Agricola's* fortresses, since *Tacitus* applauds them so much, and *Bremetonacæ*, shall be the fortress. And this we may do at this day, because *Vegetius*, who lived in *Valentinian's* reign when *Agricola's* fortresses were garrisoned by soldiers, has left us a description of a

complete fortress in the following words :—" *Castella munienda sunt loco tuto, ubi, et lignorum, et pabuli, et aquæ suppetet copia; et si diutius commorandum sit loci salubritas eligenda; cavendum sit, ne mons vicinus, qui ab adversariis captus possit officere, considerandumque, ne torrentibus inundari consueverit campus.*"\* Let us apply the fortress of *Overborough* to this complete standard of *Vegetius*. According to *Vegetius*, a fortress ought to be erected in a secure situation which abounds with wood, grass, and hay for cattle, and plenty of water. Of all *Agricola's* fortresses that I have seen, *Overborough* must abound the most with these necessities."

"That fortress must have been surrounded with wood in *Agricola's* time; then for grass and hay for cattle, and plenty of water, what place can be compared to that valley, pleasantly situated on the banks of the rivers *Lune* and *Lac*? Let us proceed with *Vegetius's* description of a complete fortress. As to situation, which ought to be healthful, this agrees very well with the situation of old *Bremetonacæ*, which stood upon a fine rising ground in a valley, where there was always a free circulation of dry air for the *Roman* garrison. The next requisite *Vegetius* requires is, that no hill stand near the fortress, lest that hill falling into the possession of their enemies, they may annoy the garrison from it. There is a hill, but at such a distance from the fortress of *Overborough*, that no missile or weapon from the hill could reach the fortress. The last requisite according to *Vegetius*,

\* Veg. lib. 1. cap. 2.

though the fortress must stand near a river, yet the situation ought to be so high, as to be never overflowed. The situation of *Bremetonacæ* answers this in all respects. This account of *Vegetius* helps us to discover the great art, skill, and contrivance of *Agricola* in the situation of his fortresses for which *Tacitus* applauds him so much. I have now gone through *Tacitus's* twentieth chapter of *Agricola's* life; and I hope I have made it appear, that *Julius Cæsar* conquered the *Western Brigantes* in the second year of his pro-prætor-ship in *Britain*, and that in the same year he erected the four fortresses, and laid the military ways through the *Western Brigantes*; and this year answers according to *Dionysius*, the chronologist, to the year of our Lord 79, *Flavius Vespasian* and *Titus Vespasian* being consuls. To confirm this account I will add one circumstance more; a copper medal of the first magnitude, which I have in my collection, was found buried several yards deep in the fortress of *Ribchester*. The river *Ribble* which now washes away the fortress, by forcing away a shoot of the earth laid bare this medal. It is certain, this medal must have been dropt by some legionary soldier, when the fortress was made; otherwise no account can be given, how it should be several yards deep in the fortress, except it was lost when the soldiers were heaping one great pile of earth upon another, that the medal happened to be buried so deep. This medal bears date, *Flavius Vespasian*, Coss. VIII. I have examined the "*Fasti Consulares*," and find that *Flavius Vespasian* was consul the eighth time in the very

year that *Agricola* conquered *Lancashire* ; and erected the four fortresses in that county. So that this medal bears testimony to my interpretation of *Tacitus* ; and both together mutually support and illustrate each other. I come now to relate the great advantages, which the *Western Brigantes*, received from *Julius Agricola*, the winter after he had subdued them. *Tacitus* spends a whole chapter in relating what *Agricola* did. The winter was spent, says *Tacitus*, in giving most wholesome advice to the people. *Agricola*, observing their rough uncultivated dispositions prone to war, indulged them in ease and pleasures ; he exhorted them in private, and he assisted them in common. *Agricola* taught the *Western Brigantes* to build temples and houses, and how to erect forums, that is places of public resort for the *Britons* to meet in, and converse with the *Romans*, and become sociable. It appears from this account of *Tacitus* that the *Britons* till now had no temples for their idols. The largest oak in the wood, served for a temple among the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and I suppose it was so among the *Britons* ; and the deity of the oak was what the *Britons* worshipped. It appears also from *Tacitus*, that the *Britons* had no houses of stone, till *Julius Agricola* taught the *Western Brigantes* how to build houses after the *Roman* fashion. Besides all this, *Agricola* took the children of the principal men, and instructed them in the liberal arts and sciences. *Tacitus* observes one thing which is very much to the honour of the *Western Brigantes* ; that *Agricola* preferred the natural genius of these *Britons*

before the *Gauls*; for the *Britons* were very desirous to become masters of the *Roman* language, whereas the *Gauls* had refused to learn it. For *Agricola* had been pro-consul in *Aquitain*, almost three years before *Flavius Vespasian* had appointed him pro-prætor over *Britain*. So that *Agricola* being well acquainted both with the *Britons* and the *Gauls*, was a competent judge of the natural abilities of both. After this the *Western Brigantes* used the *Roman* dress, and the *Toga* says *Tacitus* became the frequent habit amongst them. But matters were carried higher than all this, the *Western Brigantes*, must needs have their porticoes, balnea, and what not. And to confirm this account of *Tacitus*, that *Julius Agricola* taught the *Western Brigantes* to build temples, houses, porticoes, forums, balnea, &c., *Camden* in describing the *Roman* monuments, where *Agricola* had erected stations, observes that at some of these places were in his time arches, vaults, &c., under ground, besides what he observed above ground, or often dug up, statues, pedestals of pillars, chapiters, altars, marbles, which confirm *Tacitus's* account of the buildings. *Tacitus's* reflections on these matters is worth an observation, that when the *Britons* had got porticoes and balnea, these became incitements to vice, so that now the *Western Brigantes* had accustomed themselves to exquisite banquetings and luxury. Thus we learn from *Tacitus* that the *Western Brigantes* were the first of all the *Britons*, that were instructed by *Julius Agricola* in the *Roman* language, dress, politeness, and vices at the same time.

But here it may be asked, why he did this to the *Western Brigantes*, when no other *Roman* that we read of did so to the *Western Britons*? Two reasons may be given; First, all *Britain*, as far as *Scotland*, except *Northumberland*, which was a distinct nation of itself, was become subject to the *Roman Empire* at this time; so that it was now high time for the *Romans* to endeavour to polish the rude and barbarous dispositions of the *Britons* who were become members of the *Roman Empire*.

2. A second reason that *Tacitus* gives us for what *Agricola* did to the *Western Brigantes*: the *Britons* says he, being rude and uncultivated, and prone to war upon every occasion, *Agricola* attempted to break, soften, and humanize the natural bent of their tempers by luxury, pleasure, and ease.

“I have now finished what I designed relating to the four heads, which I promised to prove at the beginning of this chapter: and as by the title of this chapter it appears, I promised to show and prove the year when, and the *Roman* general, who erected the fortress at *Bremetonacæ*; so from the foregoing particulars I hope I have made it sufficiently plain that *Julius Agricola* erected the fortress of *Bremetonacæ* in the second year of his pro-prætor-ship over *Britain* under the Emperor *Flavius Vespasian*, which according to *Dionysius* the chronologist, answers to the year of our Lord 79; *Flavius Vespasian* and *Titus Vespasian* being consuls.”\*

\* *Antiquitates Bremetonacenses*, or the Roman Antiquities of Overborough. By the Rev. Richard Rauthmell, Kirkby Lonsdale, 1824. 8vo. Chap. 5, pp. 24—64.



After *Agricola's* departure from *Britain*, we have but a slender account of what passed in the island until the reign of *Adrian*. We only know that *Sallustius Lucullus* was sent thither by *Domitian*, to whose suspicions or jealousy he quickly fell a sacrifice. It is to be presumed, the subjects of the empire were quiet, and the inhabitants of the north suffered to enjoy their liberty in peace. The *Roman* historians mention also in the reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan* some commotions in the island that were quickly appeased; but the particulars are unknown. It may likewise be observed in this interval, the *Romans* after their conquest suffered kings to be in *Britain*, for they gloried in having such for their subjects. *Juvenal*\* speaks of King *Arvirargus*, who reigned in some part of the island under *Domitian*. 'Under *Plautius* and *Ostorius*, in the reign of *Claudius*, some places (says *Tacitus*) were given to king *Cogidunus*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*. Over what people he was king does not appear; *Camden* thinks the *Regni*; *Dr. Gale* the *Segontiaci*. However, there was lately found at *Chichester*, a very curious inscription relating to this *Cogidunus*. The stone was found in a cellar under the corner house of *St. Martin's-lane*; it is about 2ft. 9in. broad, and very near 3ft. long. It is now fixed in the wall of the house where it was found. The inscription, somewhat defaced, is as follows:—

NEPTVNO . ET . MINERVAE  
 TEMPLVM .  
 . . O . SALVTE . DOMVS . DIVINAE .  
 . AVCTORITATE . TIB . CLAVD .

\* Sat. iv., v. 125.

... GIDVBN I . R . EGA . AVG . IN BRIT .  
 ... GIVM . FABROR . ET . QVI . IN . EO .  
 ... D . S . D . DONANTE . AREAM .  
 ... ENTE . PVDENTINI . FIL . \*

The stone in digging up was broken in four parts, of which one is not taken up, lying under the foundation of the next house."†

From A. D. 85, to A. D. 117, we hear no particulars of the history of this country. It is supposed that during this period the *Romans* lost much of their conquests here.

In the first year of *Adrian*, or *Hadrian*, the northern people, a mixture, as supposed of *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Britons*, but confounded by the *Roman* historians under the name of *Caledonians*, made an irruption into the *Roman* province. Their first exploit was to demolish some of *Agricola's* fortresses between the two *Friths*. *Adrian* being informed of these commotions, appoints *Julius Severus* governor of *Britain*, but before he has time to do anything, he is suddenly recalled, to go against the *Jews*.‡ Mean time the *Caledonians* continuing to infest the *Roman* territories, the emperor resolves to go in person and subdue these fierce and troublesome people. As soon as they hear of his arrival, they relinquish the country they were possessed of, and return to the north. *Adrian*, however, advances as far as *York*, where he meets some of *Agricola's* old soldiers, that had

\* This is to be read, according to Roger Gale, Esq.:—

Neptuno et Minervæ templum pro salute domus divinæ ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii *Cogidubni* regis legati Augusti in Britannia collegium fabrorum et qui in eo a sacris sunt de suo dedicaverunt donante aream Pudente Pudentini filio.

† Philosophical Transactions, No. 379.

‡ Dionysius, l. 69.

been with him in the northern parts. The description they gave him of the country he intended to conquer, diverts him from pursuing his expedition. Besides that the bogs and the mountains he would have to pass would have engaged him in a war more laborious than honourable, he easily perceived, that, should his undertaking be crowned with success, it would procure no great advantage to the empire. Wherefore he comes to a resolution to leave to the *Caledonians* all the country between the two *Friths* and the *Tyne*, in hopes by thus enlarging their boundaries to keep them quiet. But at the same time to secure the *Roman* province from their incursions, he caused a rampart of earth, to be thrown up, covered with turf, from the mouth of the *Tyne* to *Solway Frith*. This rampart was eighty miles in length, and ran quite across the country from east to west, by which he secured the southern parts, leaving the *Caledonians* all the land between the new rampart and the isthmus that parts the two *Friths*.

“*Adrian's* wall or vallum was entirely of earth. The whole work consisted of the following parts. 1. The north *agger* ; 2. the ditch ; 3. the principal *vallum* ; 4. the south *agger*. The ditch at *Harlow-hill*, where the original breadth and depth is very apparent, measures nine feet deep and eleven over. The height and thickness of the *vallum* and *aggers* cannot be exactly known. The distance of the north *agger*, from the ditch is about twenty-four feet, and that of the south *agger* was originally thirty, though lessened at present by the spreading of the earth.”

“ Having thus settled matters in the island, he returns to *Rome*, and is honoured with the title of “ *Restorer of Britain*,” as appears by some medals. Prior to his return, A.D. 122, it is supposed that he erected the tower, at the south-east corner of the Castle, which was cased over, and is now used for the safe keeping of the County Records. This may be seen from the outside terrace, the stone facing accurately corresponding with the ancient structure. The lower portion of this tower contained an oven, formerly in use by the garrison; the upper part a mill, and the original circular staircase with its broken steps still remains. The next curtain, containing still a covered way to the “ *Dungeon Tower*,” on the left, has been cased over on the side next the debtors’ yard, and is hidden from view outside the castle, by a wall built round the female convicts’ yard, one side of which is formed by the old structure.”

“ The “ *Dungeon Tower*” appears to have been of undoubted *Roman* origin. The lower rooms of this building were formerly occupied by prisoners crowded together in so small a space that the turn-keys were accustomed, each morning, to open the doors some time before they dared to enter, the noxious exhalations being so deadly and the heat of the atmosphere being so great. This tower was taken down in the year 1812, and the female penitentiary built on its site.”\*

\* Memoranda relating to Lancaster Castle, in connexion with the presentation by Thomas Housman Higgin, Esq., Belfast, of two pictures painted previous to the alterations commenced in 1780. By Edward Higgin, Esq., Hon. Mem. Nat. Hist. Soc. Manchester, &c.,—Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Proceedings and Papers.—Session I., 1848—9. Liverpool, p. 101.

For the space of eighteen years we meet with no incident worthy of record. It appears that however strong *Adrian's* rampart might be, it was not sufficient to prevent the inroads of the northern people. Indeed, they behaved peaceably so long as there were *Roman* troops enough on their borders to defend the rampart; but the moment they were removed, as it sometimes happened, being wanted elsewhere, they began their usual ravages. Nay, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, about A.D. 138, not satisfied with their booty, they destroyed the rampart in several places. *Antoninus* being informed of it, and fearing their boldness, if not crushed, would carry them to greater undertakings, orders *Lollius Urbicus* to go and quell them. The new governor (having first subdued the *Brigantes*, who endeavoured to shake off the *Roman* yoke) in order to put a stop to the northern irruptions, raises another rampart\* on the neck of land between the two *Friths*, where *Agricola* had formerly built his fortresses. By means of this rampart and a camp at a little distance, where

\* *Antoninus's* wall, erected A.D. 140, had a series of forts or stations, like those of *Severus*, and which are supposed, some of them at least, to have been prior to the wall, and the same that were built by *Agricola*. This wall reached from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde, as appears by inscriptions. It begins at *Caer-riden*, and runs through *Munrills*, *Falkirk*, *Camelon*, *Rough Castle*, *Dick's House*, *Castle-cary-fort*, *Westerwood-fort*, *Crowy-hill*, *Barhill-fort*, *Auchindavy*, *Kirkintilloch*, *Calder*, *Bemulie*, *New Kirk-patrick*, *Castle-hill-fort*, *Duntocher*, *Old Kirk-patrick*, ending at *Dunglass*, near *Dumbarton*, where stood the old city of *Alcluith*, afterwards *Dumbritton*, *i.e.*, the Town of the Britons. *Horsley* (who had it surveyed) takes the wall to have been nearly forty Roman miles, *i.e.* (allowing fourteen Roman to thirteen English,) a little above thirty-seven of our miles. By the inscriptions showing the part which was raised by the cohorts of the *Legio Secunda*, &c, the number of paces amounts to 39,726, *i.e.* thirty-nine Roman miles

troops were kept ready to march on occasion, he compelled the *Caledonians* to remain peaceably in their country. Though *Antoninus* was never in *Britain* himself, this expedition, as done by his orders, and under his auspices, gained him the title of *Britannicus*.

From the building of this wall, A.D. 140, until the year 183, the only circumstance recorded is that *Marcus Aurelius*, successor to *Antoninus*, gave the government of *Britain* to *Calphurnius Agricola*, who is represented as checking the turbulence of the *Caledonians*, and strengthening the emperor's dominion over such of the *Britons* as seemed to bear their yoke with the most reluctance. In this reign, *Lucius*, a *British* king, is said to have embraced the Christian religion, which had long before been planted in the island.

A.D. 183, during the reign of *Commodus*, successor of *Marcus Aurelius*, there were great commotions in *Britain*. The northern men taking up arms, cut in pieces the *Roman* army, commanded by an inexperienced general and made great ravages in the province. All *Britain* was in danger of being lost, had not the emperor speedily sent *Ulpius Marcellus*, a general of great reputation. The new governor defeated the rebels in several encounters, and by his conduct put an end, in a very short space, to this dangerous war.

and 726 paces. It was built of turf, upon a foundation of stone, four yards thick. To this work belonged a great ditch, larger than that of *Severus*, on the south side of which was the main agger, vallum, or rampart, and south of the vallum a large military way well paved, and is in several places very magnificent and beautiful. This work has been called "*Grime's Dike*, or *Graham's Dike*," but wherefore does not appear.

A.D. 196: *Severus* divides *Britain* into two governments. The first, containing the southern parts, was given to *Heracitus*; and *Virius Lupus* had the second, consisting of the northern provinces bordering upon the *Caledonians*, by whom he was so infested, that he was forced at last to purchase a peace with money. After this treaty, *Britain* remained in quiet until the fifteenth year of *Severus*, A.D. 205, when the *Caledonians* renewed their incursions into the *Roman* province, and made such progress that the emperor, though sixty years of age, and afflicted with the gout, resolved to go in person and chastise their insolence. His intention was, once for all, to put an end to the continual commotions in *Britain*, by the entire conquest of the north. For this purpose he assembled a numerous army, and set out for *Britain*, accompanied by his sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Caledonians*, hearing of his arrival, sent ambassadors to sue for peace on honourable terms, but he refused to hearken to them without an unqualified submission on their part, and as they would not consent to this, he marched against them with his eldest son *Caracalla*, leaving *Geta* at *London* to take care of the southern parts. With infinite toil he penetrated to the utmost bounds of the north, cutting down woods, draining bogs, or filling them with bays. Notwithstanding all the difficulties of his way, and the loss of 50,000 men through the constant ambuscade of the enemy, he accomplished his design, and subdued these fierce and hitherto unconquered people. But as he found it impossible to keep the country in subjection

without a great army always on the spot, he thought it better to relinquish these conquests, than to keep them, and, therefore confining himself to *Adrian's* former project, he only divided the island into two parts by a wall\* in the place where *Adrian* threw up his rampart. This wall, of which there are still some remains, was called by the ancient *Britons*, *Mursever*, or *Severus'* wall. The *English* call it the *Picts'* wall, because it parted the *Picts* from the *Britons*. This wall must not be, as it is by some, confounded with the rampart raised by *Lollius Urbicus* between the two *Friths*. *Severus* having accomplished his object in the north, returned to *York*, leaving the finishing of the wall and command of the army to his son *Cara-*

\* *Severus's* wall was of freestone, as is certain from what is still visible. In some places where the foundation is not good, they seem to have made use of oak piles. The inner part of this wall is filled with pretty large, and mostly broad and thin stones, always set edge-ways, and somewhat obliquely. Upon these the running mortar or cement was poured, and by this contrivance the whole wall was bound as firm as a rock. These stones are supposed to have been from *Helbeck Scar* on the *Gelt* and *Leuge Crag*, as appears from an inscription on the rock that hangs over the *Gelt*. The wall generally measures about eight feet thick, and twelve high. Upon the wall were placed castles or chesters, sixty feet square, about six furlongs and a half from each other, and turrets four yards square, about three-hundred yards from each other. There seem to have been four turrets between every two castles, the centinels placed in the turrets being within call, the communication quite along the wall might be kept up, without having recourse to the fiction of pipes laid under ground to convey the sound; though this seems to be credited by *Echard* and others. The wall is traced from *Cousin's-house* through *Newcastle*, *Berwell-hill*, *Rutchester*, *Halton-chesters*, *Warwick-chesters*, *Carraw-brugh*, *Housesteids*, *Great-chesters*, *Thirlwell-castle*, *Burdoswold*, *Cambeck-fort*, *Watch-cross*, *Stanwicks*, *Brugh*, *Drumbrugh*, to *Boulness*, sixty-eight miles and three furlongs. The legionary soldiers were employed in building this wall, as they generally were in works of this nature. This is evident from the centurial inscriptions on the stones of the walls, shewing which part of the wall was built by each centuria.



*calla*. This expedition procured for him, or caused him to assume, the title of *Britannicus Maximus*.

*Caracalla*, no longer restrained by his father's presence, suffered the soldiers to commit all manner of licentiousness, in consequence of which, the *Caledonians*, unused to the yoke, took up arms with one accord; and *Severus*, hearing of this revolt, but ignorant of the cause, ordered the insurgents to be all massacred without respect of sex or age. He died shortly after at *York*, and the two princes, his sons, succeeding him, concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, and returned to *Rome*. Nothing of importance is recorded of the affairs of *Britain* from the death of *Severus* until the reign of *Dioclesian*, i. e. from A.D. 211 to A.D. 286. But notwithstanding the silence of the *Roman* historians, we learn from inscriptions, the names of three pro-prætors under *Gordian III.*, namely, *Mæcilius Fuscus*, *Cneius Lucilianus*, both mentioned in two inscriptions found at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*, and *Nonnius Philippus* in one found at *Old Carlisle*, dated A.D. 242. There is reason to suppose that some of the thirty tyrants, who rose in the reign of *Gallienus*, about the year A.D. 260, and who were in possession of the empire for some time, were acknowledged, if not personally present, in *Britain*. This appears the more probable, as the coins of *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumius*, and others of these pretended emperors are commonly found in *England*.

In the beginning of *Dioclesian's* reign, *Carausius* had the command of a fleet, with orders to

scour the seas of the piratical *Franks* and *Saxons*, that perpetually infested the *Belgick*, *Armorican*, and *British* coasts. *Carausius* having enriched himself immensely, by plundering the pirates, or sharing with them in their spoils, assumed the imperial purple, and as his riches had acquired him great interest in the army, his authority was readily acknowledged in the island. *Maximian*, then emperor of the west, as *Dioclesian* was of the east, surprised at the boldness of *Carausius*, advanced as far as *Gaul* with a design to chastise him, but finding him too well established, altered his resolution, and thought it best to associate him in the empire, and leave him *Britain* for his share. There are silver coins still found in *England*, of these two emperors, having on the reverse two hands joined together with these words "Concordia Augg." Some have on the reverse, PROVIDENTIA AUGGG, or PAX AUGGG, shewing that there were three emperors at this time.\* This forced agreement not removing *Maximian's* desire to be rid of his associate, he commits the execution of his design to *Constantius Chlorus*, lately made *Cæsar*, giving him an army answerable to the greatness of the undertaking, but *Carausius* was slain by *Electus*,† who assumed the title of emperor, whereupon *Constantius* passes into *Britain* to drive the usurper from his throne before he had time to fortify himself. Shortly afterwards *Electus* is killed by *Asclepiodotus* who assuming likewise the imperial dignity, loses his life afterwards in a

\* Batt. Antiq. Rutup. p. 65.

† Or, Allectus, his friend and minister who succeeded to the imperial dignity.

battle. About this time it is supposed, the "Well Tower," of the castle at LANCASTER was erected by *Constantius Chlorus*, though others ascribe its erection to the *Saxons*. The writer before quoted remarks:—"There can be no doubt in my mind as to the lower portions of this edifice, from the fact that there are two heights of dungeons below the surface of the ground, the roofs of which were formed by pieces of timber joined at a right angle in the centre, the spaces between being interlaced with twigs and filled up with grout, before the superstructure was built thereon. These "dungeons" were occupied as cells for condemned malefactors until sixty years ago; they were and are totally excluded from the light, sunk some thirty feet in the marl, below the surface of the ground, damp and miserable abodes for any living being. They may be entered yet from the keeper's house, and are sad memorials of the barbarity of our ancestors, whilst presenting a curious substitute for the arch then unknown in *Britain*. In 1826 an oaken beam supporting the roof gave way after a fire in one of the rooms of this tower; it must have been used in the original building. The timber was quite black outside, yet perfectly sound after exposure for probably 1500 years, and portions of it were made into boxes, one of which I hope to be able to present to the society. A very deep well, where delicious water is obtained, gives the name to this structure."\*

*Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, both on a day, resign the empire, one in the east, the other in the west;

\* Memoranda relating to Lancaster Castle, &c., p. 99, 100.

*Galerius* and *Constantius* succeeded them; the latter, as emperor of the west, had *Britain* in his division. Some commotions in the island obliging him to go thither in person, he died at *York*, A. D. 307, in the beginning of an expedition against the northern people, now distinguished by the names of *Deucalidonians* and *Vecturions*.\* *Constantius* was succeeded by his son *Constantine*, supposed to be born in *Britain*, during whose reign the *Britons* lived in profound tranquillity. Though at first only emperor of the west, he vanquished both his rivals, and became eventually master of both empires. He divided his possessions into four large præfectures, namely, *Italy*, *Gaul*, the *East*, and *Illyria*, in which were contained fourteen great dioceses, or provinces. *Britain*, one of the fourteen, was subject to the præfect of *Gaul* and governed by a vicarius, or deputy, under him.† Before *Constantine*, *Britain* was divided into two provinces

\* Caledonians, i. e. Cilyddion, borderers, in the British tongue, whom Bishop Lloyd supposes to be first called Picts, about the year of our Lord 300. Though at the same time they that lived next the Roman frontiers were still called 'Caledones,' or 'Borderers.' Ammianus says, these two nations of the Picts which were called Dicaledones and Vecturiones, perhaps Deu-cilyddion and Chwithwrion, i. e. in British, the *Southern* Caledones or Borderers, and the *Northern* men (*deu* and *chwith*, right and left, being anciently used for *south* and *north*), the same, no doubt, that were afterwards called the *South* and *North* Picts.

† Till *Constantine's* time, the governor of *Britain* was called the emperor's *pro-prætor*, or *lieutenant*. But afterwards (as appears in the "Notitia" of the empire) the island was governed by a *vicar*, or *deputy*, under the præfectus-prætorio of *Gaul*.—See *Zosim. Hist.*, l. 2. p. 688.—The ensigns of his government were, *first*, a draught of the five provinces of *Britain*, expressed in several buildings, with their names on the triangular form of the island, as if they comprehended the whole island. *Second*, the book of their instructions, covered with *green*, and the commission, in a gilt cover, with several letters inscribed on the book. The letters were, F. L. I. N. T. A. L. L. C. O. M. O. R. D. P. R. i. e. *Frons libri jussu nostro transcripti a laterculis continentis mandata ordinaria*

only. But that emperor was pleased to divide it into three, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*, this last including all the parts northward of the *Thames* and eastward of the *Severn*, having *York* as its capital. In this division *Lancashire* was included. *Maxima Cæsariensis* was afterwards subdivided, but whether by *Constantius* or not is uncertain. The southern part retained the old name of *Maxima Cæsariensis*; and the other more northward, was called *Flavia Cæsariensis*.

A. D. 337: After the death of *Constantine*, the *Roman* empire was divided between his three sons; but in a short time *Constantius*, one of the three brothers, being possessed of the whole, sent into *Britain* a *Notary*, named *Paulus*, who committed numberless excesses, condemning to death, banishment or imprisonment, all who made the least resistance to his will, but in the end perished miserably, being burnt alive.

A. D. 388: *Maximus* assumes the imperial purple, and quits *Britain* to go to fight *Gratian*. He leads all the *Roman* forces into *Gaul*, with a considerable body of such *Britons* as were fit to bear arms. Thus *Britain* was on a sudden destitute of soldiers, and consequently so weak that she could not defend herself in case of attack.

The *Britons* left to themselves after the departure of the *Roman* soldiers and the flower of their youth, are quickly reduced to great extremities.

principis. There were two books, called the *Laterculum Majus*, and the *Laterculum Minus*, the former containing the names, instructions, &c. of the higher officers; the latter, those of the inferior.—See *Panciroli*. in *Not. Imperii*.

The *Picts* and *Scots* continue their ravages without opposition, by reason of the weakness of their enemies. This wretched state continued for some years, and the *Romans* could render no assistance. They were too much taken up with their own affairs to think of *Britain*, being neither able nor willing to give any assistance, wherefore, to free himself at once from their importunities, *Constantine* voluntarily resigns the sovereignty of the island, and discharges the inhabitants of their allegiance to the empire. This voluntary renunciation, was made in the year 410, a little after *Alaric's* taking *Rome*.

The liberty the *Britons* had thus recovered served only to render them more miserable. Whereas before they might claim the protection of the emperor, they were now destitute of all hopes of assistance. However, the affairs of the *Romans* happening afterwards to be somewhat restored under *Valentinian III.*, by the victories of the famous *Ætius*, this general, out of pity to the wretched condition of the *Britons*, sends them a legion commanded by *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, or, as some say, by *Maximian*. This aid arriving unexpectedly beat back with ease the northern nations, and forced them to retire into the country. But the emperor having occasion for the legion, they were recalled just as the enemies were preparing to renew their devastations. The *Romans* took their last farewell of *Britain* never more to return.

The end of the *Roman* dominion over *Britain* is to be fixed to the time of this legion leaving the island, in the year, 427.\*

\* *Stillingfleet* says it was in the year 418.

*Lancashire* was comprised in the *Roman* province of *Maxima Cæsariensis*, which also contained the counties of *Northumberland*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *Yorkshire*.\*

It was under *Agricola* that the *Roman* dominion in *Britain* reached its utmost permanent extent; for a few hurried marches, made at a later period further into the north of *Caledonia*, are not to be counted as conquests or acquisitions of territory. For the long period of thirty years, the island remained so tranquil that scarcely a single mention of it occurs in the *Roman* annals; and we need scarcely remark, that, as history has been usually written, the silence of historians is one of the best proofs of a nation's happiness.†

To *Agricola*, and to this æra, Mr. *Whitaker*, has referred the first erection of the following *Roman* stations in this county:—" *Ad Alaunum*, the *Longovicus* of the *Notitia*, (*LANCASTER*,) and *Bremetonacæ*, (*Overborough*) in the north; *Portus Sistoniorum*, (the *Port* of *Lancashire*) in the west; *Rerigonium* (*Ribchester*,) and *Coccium* (*Blackrode*), about the centre: *Colonea* (*Colne*) on the east; and *Veratinum*, (*Warrington*), and *Mancunium* (*Manchester*) on the south. Some fortresses were absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the *Roman* conquests, and must always have been regularly erected by the *Romans* as they extended their conquests. Six of these are mentioned by

\* Henry's Great Britain, vol. 1.

† In a general description of the *Roman* empire, under *Trajan*, *Appian* states that the emperor possessed more than one half of *Britain*, that he neglected the rest of the island as *useless*, and derived *no profit* from the part he possessed.

the earliest accounts which we have of the *Roman* stations in *Lancashire*; and five of them by an account\* that was drawn up about sixty years only after the reduction of it. Having been five of them originally *British* fortresses, they were now changed into stationary camps; and small garrisons consisting principally of the infirm and raw soldiers, were lodged in them; while *Agricola*, with the rest, attacked the more northerly *Britons* in the following summer.† “Thus was the autumn of 79,” continues Mr. *Whitaker*, “the very remarkable epoch of our present towns in *Lancashire*.”

Though Mr. *Whitaker* has specified six stations as positively belonging to this county, yet their exact situations are not satisfactorily defined; nor are other antiquarians agreed with respect to this number; for *Antoninus*, in his “X. Iter,” only marks three, which, with their relative distances, are thus set down in a journey from the north towards the south:—

Galacum ..... m.p. xix..... *Westmoreland*.  
 Bremetonacæ m.p. xxvii..... *Lancashire*.

\* The account here referred to, is that of Richard of Cirencester, a monk who lived in the fourteenth century, and whose list of Roman stations, &c. is more copious, and more “circumstantial,” than the Geography of Ptolemy, the Itinerary of Antoninus, the imperial Notitia, and the anonymous Chorography. To this work Mr. *Whitaker* attaches almost implicit confidence; but the modern and acute historian of Whalley, questions the monk’s authorities, and observes that “he was possessed with the general spirit of his profession in the middle ages; something between bold conjecture, and inventive fraud. He laid out new Itinera; he imagined colonies, towns invested with the Jus Latii, and others merely stipendiary, long after these distinctions were abolished; he inserted some names which, though real, were posterior to the Roman empire in Britain, and some which may safely be affirmed to have been fabricated by himself.”—*Whitaker’s History of Whalley*, p. 16.

† *Whitaker’s History of Manchester*, vol. 1, p. 31.



Coccium*	..... m.p.	xx.....	} <i>Lancashire.</i>
Mancunium	... m.p.	xvii.....	
Condate	..... m.p.	xviii.....	<i>Cheshire.</i>

*Baines*† gives the following *Roman* stations, in *Lancashire*, as occurring in the II. and X. Routes of the “*Itinerary*” of *Antoninus* :—

## ITER II.

Eboracum,	... Leg. vi. vic.	.....	<i>York.</i>
Calcaria,	..... m.p.	ix.....	<i>Tadcaster.</i>
Cambodunus,	m.p.	xx. al. xxx....	<i>Aldmonbury.</i>
Manvico,	..... m.p.	xviii. al. xxiii.	<i>Manchester.</i>
Condate,	..... m.p.	xviii.....	<i>Northwich.</i>
Deva,	..... leg. xx. vic. m.p.	xx.	<i>Chester.</i>

## ITER X.

From *Lancaster*, in the county of *Durham*, to *Drayton*, in *Shropshire*.

A Glanoventa.	From <i>Lancaster</i> .
Galava,	.....m.p. xviii. al. xxviii. <i>Old Town.</i>
Alone,	.....m.p. xii..... <i>Whitby Castle.</i>
Galacum,	...m.p. xix. .... <i>Appleby.</i>
Bremetonacis,	m.p. xxvii. al. xxxii. <i>Overborough.</i>
Coccia,	.....m.p. xx. al. xxv. ... <i>Ribchester.</i>
Mancunio,	...m.p. xvii. al. xxxii. <i>Manchester.</i>
Condate,	.....m.p. xviii. .... <i>Near Northwich.</i>
Mediolano,	...m.p. xviii. al. xxviii. <i>Near Drayton.</i>

\* This station was invested with the *Jus Latii*, or “*Latin Privilege*,” whereby the inhabitants were exempt from the ordinary jurisdiction of the prætor, and were no longer governed by a foreign præfect, and a foreign quæstor, but a quæstor and præfect elected among themselves. Every inhabitant of such towns, who had borne the offices of quæstor or prætor was immediately entitled to the privileges of a Roman citizen.—*Tacitus’ Ann. Lib.*, xiv. — *Whitaker’s Manchester*, vol. I., p. 243.

† *Baines’s Lancashire*, vol. i., p. 14, 15.

*Richard of Cirencester* gives another route in the ~~same~~ direction. He thus exhibits the *Lancashire* stations, with their immediate connexions, in the VI., VII., and X. Routes:—

## ITER VI.

Ab *Eboraco* *Devam* usque, sic.From *York* to *Chester*.

Calcaria, .....m.p.\* viii. .... *Tadcaster*.  
 Camboduno, m.p. xxii. al. xxxii. *Slack*.  
 Mancunio, ...m.p. xviii. al. xxiii. *Manchester*.  
 Finibus Max- } m.p. xviii. al. vi. { *Stratford on Mer-*  
 imæ et Flaviæ } sey.  
 Condate, .....m.p. xviii. al. xxiii. *Kinderton*.  
 Deva, .....m.p. xviii. .... *Chester*.

## ITER VII.

A *Portu* *Sistuntiorum Eboracum*  
usque, sic.From *Freckleton* (on the *Ribble*)  
to *York*.

Rerigonio, ...m.p. xxiii. al. xiii. .... *Ribchester*,  
 Ad Alpes Pe- } m.p. viii. al. xxiii. { *Burrens-in-*  
 ninos } Broughton.  
 Alicana, .....m.p. x. .... *Ilkley*.  
 Isurio, .....m.p. xviii. .... *Aldborough*.  
 Eboraco, .....m.p. xvi. al. xvii. ... *York*.

## ITER X.

.....\* .....\* .....\* .....\* .....\*  
 Brocavonacis ..... *Brougham*.  
 Ad Alaunum, ...m.p. xxxvii. .... LANCASTER.  
 Coccio, .....m.p. xxxvi. ... *Blackrode*.  
 Mancunio, .....m.p. xviii. .... *Manchester*.  
 Condate, .....m.p. xxiii. .... *Kinderton*.

\* \* \* \*

\* m.p. *Millia passuum*, a thousand paces making one mile.

Dr. *Stukeley*\* affixes the modern names to the places, as follows:—

Brocavonacis, .....xxii. ....*Penrith, Browham.*

Ad Alauna, .....LANCASTER.

Coccium, ...lxvi. { Latio jure } *Bury, and Cockley*  
                                   donata } *Chapel, Lancash.*

Another “Iter” is as follows:—

### ITER BRITANNIARUM.

#### A GESSORIACO.

*De Gallis Ritupis* in portu *Britanniarum* stadia numero cccc. a limite, id est, a vallo *Prætorio* usque m.p. clvi. sic:

*Item a Glamoventa Mediolano, m.p. 150 sic:—*

Galua, .....m.p. xviii.

Alone, .....m.p. xii.....*Alauna, Aliona, Alione.*

Galacum, ...m.p. xix. ...*Galacum Brigantum.*

Bremetonaci, m.p. xxvii.

Coccio, .....m.p. xx.

Mancunio, m.p. xviii. ...*Mammucio vel Manucio.*

Condate,.....m.p. xviii.

Mediolano, ...m.p. xix.†

The *Roman* stations between LANCASTER and *Severus's* wall (which extended across the island from the mouth of the *Tyne* to *Solway Frith*), according to the “*Notitia Imperii*,” were as follow:

- 1, *Præfectus numeri Longovicariorum*, Longovico.
- 2, *Præfectus numeri vigilum*, Concangium.
- 3, *Præfectus numeri Nerviorum Dictensium*, Dicti.
- 4, *Præfectus numeri Barcariorum Tigrisiensium*, Arbeia.

\* “Account of Richard of Cirencester,” 4to., 1757, p. 53.

† Holinshed's Description of England, A.D. 1587, vol. i., p. 420.

- 5, Tribunus cohortis sextæ Nerviorum, Virosidio.
- 6, Cuneus armaturarum, Bremetenraco.
- 7, Tribunus cohortis tertię Nerviorum, Alone.
- 8, Præfectus alæ primæ Herculeæ, Olenaco.

In *English*, thus:—

- 1, The prefect of a detachment of Longovicarii, at  
LANCASTER.
- 2, The prefect of a detachment of watchmen, at  
*Kendal*.
- 3, The prefect of a detachment of the Nervii Dicensenses, at *Ambleside*.
- 4, The prefect of a detachment of the Barcarii Tigresienses, at *Moresby*.
- 4, The tribune of the sixth cohort of the Nervii, at *Elenborough*.
- 6, A body of men in armour, at *Old Penrith*.
- 7, The tribune of the third cohort of the Nervii, at *Whitley Castle*.
- 8, The prefect of the first wing, called Herculeæ, at *Old Carlisle*.

In pointing out the judicious situations of these stations, and their great importance to the *Romans*, we cannot do better than give a quotation from "*Rauthmall's Antiquities of Overborough*," especially, as it will be seen, the substance of his remarks are made use of by most of the topographical writers who have, since his time, described this part of the country, whilst subject to the *Romans*.

"When an army of *Caledonians* arose, and attempted to invade the empire in *Britain*; then they attempted *Severus's* wall; and there are

several instances of their breaking through that barrier, getting into the empire, plundering and sacking all before them. At other times, when the *Caledonians* invaded the empire, it appears from the situation of these eight garrisons, that their usual entrance was over *Solway Frith*, at the west end of *Severus's* wall. It is upon this account that *Theodosius* fixed garrisons upon the sea coast of *Cumberland*, to oppose these robbers. The *Caledonians* could not enter the empire at the east end of *Severus's* wall, because the mouth of the river *Tyne* was both too deep and too broad, either to swim or ford. *Solway Frith* was the usual route by which the *Caledonians* entered the empire, when they were in single clans, and not able to attack the garrisons on the wall. As soon as a *Caledonian* clan had passed *Solway Frith*, if they skulked along the sea coast of *Cumberland*, to get into *Lancashire*, past all the garrisons, there was a garrison at *Virosidium*, now *Elenborough*, on the sea coast, to oppose them. This garrison, according to the author of the "Notitia," consisted of a cohort of *Nervian* soldiers; and there is visible to this day, a 'mons exploratorius' near this fortress, from which mount a centinel might view all the coast of *Scotland* on the other side of *Solway Frith*, and spy the enemy on their distant approach. But if the *Caledonians*, by the assistance of a dark night, got safe by the fortress of *Elenborough*, there was another garrison more to the south, upon the sea coast, called *Arbeia*, now *Moresby*. This garrison, according to the 'Notitia,' consisted of *Barcarian* soldiers, to oppose

the *Caledonians*. But, if the *Caledonians* got safe by these two garrisons, skulking along the sea coast of *Cumberland*, there was a third garrison, still further south of this, at *Longovicus*, now *LANCASTER*. This garrison, according to the 'Notitia,' consisted of the *Lancastrians*, or townsmen. And if the *Caledonians* got past this garrison, there were no more garrisons south-west, to the utmost parts of *Britain*. But if it happened that the clans of the *Caledonians* got over *Solway Frith* in large bodies together, and had courage to fight the garrisons; then they entered *Cumberland* immediately about *Olenacum*, now *Old Carlisle*. The author of the 'Notitia' places the *Ala Herculea* at this fortress, so called in honour of *Maximianus Herculeus*. If the *Caledonians* passed this garrison, and advanced towards the east, then was the garrison of *Alone*, now *Whitley Castle*, ready to oppose them. But if the *Caledonians* judged it more advisable to march towards the south, to get out of the reach of the eighteen garrisons on *Severus's* wall, then they fell in with the garrison of *Bremetenracum*, now old *Penrith* or *Plunton* wall. There was a noble garrison here, which is called, according to the 'Notitia,' *Cuneus armaturarum*, which *Vegetius* says is a troop of horse armed in the most complete manner. If the *Caledonians* escaped this garrison, and marched on still south, then they came within the compass of the garrison of *Dictis*, now *Amble-side*, in *Westmoreland*. If the *Caledonians* got safe by the garrison of *Amble-side*, where the 'Notitia' places a company of *Nervian* soldiers, the next garrison to the south was at *Concangium*, now

*Kendal*; at this place, the author of the 'Notitia' mentions a company of watchmen: and here it was very proper, because if the *Caledonian-Picts* had advanced thus far undiscovered, then were they got by all the fortresses, except *Overborough*. So then they might pillage, plunder and sack all before them without control. It was, therefore, the business of *Concangium* to set watches at proper places, and, upon a discovery, to acquaint the other garrisons, who, being alarmed, might prepare for pursuit and attack."\*

LANCASTER was one of the last stations the *Romans* abandoned, on their withdrawing from *Britain*.

The following is Dr. *Whitaker's* account, as given in his 'History of Richmondshire:†' "This highly favoured place, (LANCASTER,) alike distinguished by the beauty of its situation, the magnificence of its castle, and its rank as the capital of one of the most populous counties in the kingdom, is to be considered successively, as a *Roman* station, as the head of a *Norman* barony, and subsequently as an earldom and duchy, and lastly, with a view to its monastical and other ecclesiastical foundations.

"First, then, with respect to the *Roman* antiquities of the place. The complaisance of antiquaries, led by their father *Camden*, has generally induced them to consider this place as the *Longo-vicus* of the 'Notitia,' for which there exists not any other the slightest evidence than the fancied resemblance of the names: on the contrary, it is

\* Rauthmel's History of Overborough.

† Vol. ii. p. 211—213.

most obvious, that as the *Roman Coccium* was named *Ribblechester*, from the *Ribble*, on which it stood, so it was

“The shallow, stony *Lone*  
That to old LANCASTER its name did lend.”\*

For the fact is, that in both instances, when the *Saxons* came to affix a nomenclature to the towns and villages of their new conquest, finding the remains and the tradition of a *Roman* fortress in each of these places, of which the name had perished in the interval between the departure of one people and the access of the other, they chose to denominate the former *Ribble-chester*, or the castle on the *Ribble*; and the latter *Lone-caster*, or the castle on the *Lone*.

“But LANCASTER, unquestionably *Roman* as it is, and of the upper empire, has many peculiarities both in the nature of its site, in the style of its fortifications, and in its being placed out of the general line of march, pursued at least in the earlier period of the subjugation of *Britain* by the *Roman* armies. First, it stands on a lofty knoll; such, however, as the *Romans* in other instances, though rarely, adopted. It is not placed at or near the confluence of a brook with a considerable river; neither were its walls *rectangular*, and their sides *rectilinear*, as is generally the case; neither does *warmth* or *shelter* appear to have been consulted in the choice of this situation; on the contrary, though commanding a noble prospect to the north and west, its summit must have always been too bleak and exposed for the constitutions of the

\* Spencer's Faery Queene.



legionaries, who had been accustomed to the climate of *Gaul* and *Italy*, or even to the ordinary warmth of other stations in *Britain*. The *outline*, too, of the camp was an *ellipsis*, with a double wall and fosse surrounding the summit of the entire hill, so far beneath, as to afford it no protection from the inclemency of northern blasts.

“For these peculiarities there must have been some cogent reason; and no one who attends to the nature and appearance of the place can doubt what that reason was. Up to the point opposite to the *Roman Castrum*, and no higher, the *Lune* was navigable for sloops such as the *Roman* galleys and onerary vessels. The line of stations immediately to the northward, at a time when there was no land carriage from the south but on horseback, wanted a post by which they could immediately communicate with *Gaul* or *Italy*: and the riches imported at the mouth of the *Lune* would, in the imperfect and unconsolidated state of the *Roman* power over the *Brigantes*, but too powerfully tempt their rapacity, unless it were secured by a strong garrison. This unquestionably was the origin of the *Roman* station at LANCASTER.

“Having dismissed the *Longovicus* of the *Notitia* as unworthy of a moment's attention, and having pointed out the reason why it ought not to be sought in *Antoninus's Itinerary*, we must next seek for the *name* of this great *Roman* settlement elsewhere. For this purpose, not our *best*, but our *only* authority, is *Ptolemy*. That astronomer, collecting from the best informed sailors of his time the different bays and promontories of *Britain*,

together with the native tribes adjoining to them, has assigned to this latitude precisely, the *Bay of Morecambe*, which in the *British* language, is the great curvature, the tribe of the *Setantii* to its confines, and the *Setantiorum Portus* to the south. The comparative distance of the *Belisama* to the south fortifies the same opinion; and I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the *Bay of Morecambe* is the great æstuary formed by the *Kent* and the *Leven*, and the *Setantiorum Portus* the mouth of the *Lune*. A similar port to this the great station of *Coccium* once had at the mouth of the *Belisama*, which wanting the fine basis of the *Setantiorum Portus*, is now only proved to have existed by the *Roman* iter tending to its side, having long since been swallowed up by the sea. The same connexion subsisted, and that from a very early period, as will shortly be proved, betwixt the station at the mouth of the *Lune*, and the inland fortress of *Bremetonacæ*. When the genius and experience of *Agricola* marked out the line of stations through the country of the *Western Brigantes*, he planted them along the banks of considerable rivers which empty themselves into the *Mare Vergivium*, but in general, above the point at which those streams ceased to be navigable.

“ But a communication with the sea was highly desirable, not only for the purposes of commerce, but for the conveyance of military stores and provisions from the continent of *Europe*, when the communication along the *Itinera* happened to be interrupted, and indeed when it did not. For this

reason, I have no hesitation in ascribing the first *Roman* station, which was erected at the *Setantiorum Portus*, to this great general; though it may be inferred from the name, that the *Britons* had antecedently possessed an harbour of considerable resort at the mouth of the *Lune*. Accordingly, it appears that under the upper empire, there was direct communication betwixt the *Roman* fortress at the *Setantiorum Portus* and the station of *Bremetonacæ* only.

“That there was then such a communication is proved beyond the possibility of doubt, by the miliary stone found at *Caton*, in the direct line betwixt these two points, and bearing as its date the third consulate of *Hadrian*. That this communication, at that early period of the *Roman* power in *Britain*, subsisted betwixt these two points *only*, is to be inferred as follows:—

“That there are vestiges of an iter leading from the *Roman Mancunium* to *Blackrode*, where the learned historian of *Manchester* discovered the vestiges of a camp, and thence to the neighbourhood of *Preston*; that the same line may occasionally be traced through *Amounderness*, and that it points directly on LANCASTER, will be freely granted. Nay, farther, that there are vestiges of a similar line from LANCASTER to *Concangios* is equally certain.

“But I trust that I have sufficiently proved, in another work, these premises, not to warrant so hasty a conclusion, as that from the foundation of these military establishments there existed a line of communication from the *Setantiorum Portus* to any other point than *Bremetonacæ*.

“But the truth appears to be this; that the line of march for the *Roman* armies through the passes of the hills, and even over the summits of the mountains from *Mancunium* by *Coccium*, and thence to *Bremetonacæ*, was found to be inconvenient, dilatory, and toilsome. I have proved from a late discovery that it was always impracticable for carriages; and it appears from another important discovery (that of a milliary stone found in the township of *Borough*,) that in the reign of the Emperor *Philip*, a new and more commodious line of march was adopted, leaving *Coccium* far to the right, and pursuing with a considerable curvature, in order to avoid the hills, almost a perfect plane from *Mancunium* to the *Setantiorum Portus*, where it united with another original road leading to *Bremetonacæ*.”

“It is another curious fact, that this later iter is differently constructed from the great *Roman* pavement of the upper empire. I have been assured by an intelligent person, who has seen a portion of it dug up in the *Fylde*, that it was constructed much like a common highway, with small broken stones compacted by time and pressure; and I have myself taken up a portion of the same way near the *Folly*, about a mile from LANCASTER, to the north, and pointing upon *Concangios*, which in the mode of its construction, precisely corresponded with this account.

“As the *Setantiorum Portus* was not only a military station, but an emporium of great resort, the remains of that active and literate people who occupied it have been discovered in great abun-

dance, both within the fortress and in the slope beneath, which declines towards the *Lune*.

“But the environs of LANCASTER have also afforded some important discoveries, which lead to the conclusion that they, too, were populous and not unadorned with *Roman* villas. Of these I know not that a single specimen has been produced by former antiquaries, excepting that Dr. Leigh\* has exhibited a single pattern from the potter’s stamp, on which he thinks proper to affirm that it was intended for libations to *Juno Regina*. Coins, tabulæ, and urns are rarely discovered here; other remains of *Roman* pottery more frequently; but we have now a very valuable and curious assemblage of altars, together with other inscriptions, and sculptures uninscribed.”

The *ÆSTUARIES* into which the rivers that watered these stations fell, though involved in some degree of uncertainty, from the vague and indecisive character of the *Roman* charts, were:—the *Mersey*, called *Belisama*; the *Neb of the Nese* (Freckleton), at the mouth of the *Ribble*, called the *Haven of the Setantii*, or the *Setantian port*; and the bay of *Morecambe*.

The *Lancashire* stations communicated with *Isurium* (Aldborough), and *Eboracum* (York); the *Brigantine* capital, by roads constructed by the *Roman* soldiery, and with other towns enumerated in the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, the Chorography of the *Ravennas*, and the Description of *Britain*, by *Richard of Cirencester*.

\* Leigh’s Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak, fol. 1700.

The four grand military *Roman* ways in *Britain* bear the names of *Watling Street*, *Hermin Street*, the *Fosse*, and *Ikening* or *Ikenild Street*; but it is only the first-mentioned of these roads that comes within the scope of this history.

Each of the stations affords its antiquities: at *Blackrode*, the *Roman* roads are seen expanding like radii from a centre; *Ribchester* abounds with remains; and *Colne*, *Freckleton*, *LANCASTER*, *Manchester*, *Overborough*, and *Warrington*, exhibit their antiquarian stores, and proclaim their ancient alliance with the mistress of the world.

After a lapse of sixteen centuries, the county of *LANCASTER* still presents innumerable remains of these celebrated roads.

Four great *Roman* roads passed through this county; two of them from north to south, and two others from west to east.

The first of the *Roman* routes extends from *Carlisle* (*Languvallium*), in *Cumberland*, to *Kinderton* (*Condate*), in *Cheshire*: passing through *LANCASTER*, it advances pretty nearly due south, near *Garstang* and *Preston*, to *Blackrode*; then taking the direction of *Walden Moor*, where it assumes the name of *Staney Street*, it advances by the *Hope-hall* estate, crosses the highway from *Manchester* to *Warrington*, and, having passed the ford of the *Irwell*, at the shallow which gives denomination to *Old Trafford*, proceeds through the village of *Stretford* to the bridge over the *Mersey*; then pointing at *Altringham*, it passes along the declivity of the hill, and enters *Dunham Park*; here it takes the name of *Street* to *Buckley*

*Hill*; from hence it passes to *Mere Town*; when, leaving *Northwich* about half a mile to the right, it takes the name of *King Street*, at *Broken Cross*, and proceeds to *Kinderton*—the *Condate* of *Antoninus*—now a suburb of *Middlewich*.

The second *Roman* road extends from *Overborough* to *Slack* or *Almondbury* (*Cambodunum*), in *Yorkshire*. This road passes through *Ribchester*, across the *Ribble*; then, proceeding to the east of *Blackburn*, through *Ratcliffe* and *Prestwich*, over *Kersall Moor*, is carried by *Strangeways Lane* to *Manchester*; traversing that township obliquely, it passes over *Newton Heath*, by *Haigh Chapel*, to the summit of *Austerlands*, where it enters *Yorkshire*; passes *Knoll Hill*, in *Saddleworth*, and crossing the *Manchester* and *Huddersfield* road at *Delph*, leaves *Marsden* about a mile and a half to the south, skirts *Golcar Hill*, and attains the plot of *Cambodunum*.

The third route commences at the *Neb of the Nese*, on the right bank of the *Ribble*, called by the *Romans* the *Setantian Port*, or, as we should express it, *the Port of Lancashire*; this road ranges from west to east, and, crossing the *LANCASTER* road, leaves *Preston* about a mile to the right, assuming, on *Fulwood Moor*, the name of *Watling Street*; hence it proceeds to *Ribchester*, from which station it passes over *Longridge Fell*, and then, turning to the north, traces the *Hodder* to its source.

The fourth road commences at the ford of the *Mersey*, near *Warrington*, and passes through *Barton* and *Eccles* to *Manchester*; it afterwards

traverses the townships of *Moston*, *Chadderton*, and *Royton*, and keeping about a quarter of a mile to the right of *Rochdale*, by the *Oldham* road, continues through *Littleborough*; afterwards mounting the *British Apennines* it sweeps over *Rumbles Moor*, and advances to *Ilkley*, the *Olicana* of *Ptolemy*, where stood the temple of *Verbeia*, the goddess of the *Wharfe*.\*

Several other roads, called "*vicinal ways*," are to be found in this county, but the routes above described form the four principal military communications.

These roads generally consist of a regular pavement formed by large boulder-stones or fragments of rock, embedded in gravel, and vary in width from four to fourteen yards. It is a singular characteristic of the *Roman* roads, that they are not carried over rivers by *bridges*, but by *fords*, except where the rivers are impassable, and then bridges are thrown over.†

After the *stations*‡ were established, it was next, according to the usual system of *Roman* policy, deemed necessary to open a passable communication between them, by means of *military roads*. To effect this, in a county like *Lancashire*,

\* Baines', vol. i. p. 12—14.

† Galen, ix. c. 8, *Methodi*.

‡ It must be observed, that encampments upon a march were, by the Romans, called "*castra*." Winter or summer quarters, *castra hiberna*, aut *æstiva*. The word "*statio*" is used by Cæsar, Tacitus, &c. for the duty of *soldiers upon guard*, or, for the *men employed in this duty*. But afterwards "*statio*" was applied to a *fort*, or place where the soldiers lodged, and, like the "*castella*" of Vegetius, were often built like towns in the borders of the empire, where they were constant fences against the enemy. The "*stations*" in England were strong fortifications, of no great extent, adjoining to which were usually other buildings, forming a sort of town, to which the *station* was in the nature of a citadel.



required the united powers of labour and skill. The first could be easily obtained from the subjected natives, combined with the veteran engineers; and the latter was a distinguishing characteristic of the *Romans*. As the principal *Roman* stations of this county must evidently have had intervening roads, I shall briefly notice the direction of these, and refer to the accompanying map\* for a more perspicuous delineation of them. From *Mancunium* (Manchester) a road branched off, south-easterly, towards *Stockport*; another, south-westerly, into *Cheshire*, by *Stretford*; a third, north-west, to *Blackrode*; and near *Pendleton*, a vicinal way branched off to *Warrington*; a fourth communicated directly to *Coccium* (Ribchester), and continued thence to *Bremetonacis* (Overborough); a fifth diverged north-east towards *Halifax*; and a sixth more easterly, towards *Almon-bury*, in *Yorkshire*. Mr. *Leman* also imagines that a road communicated almost directly north and south through the centre of the county, from *Warrington*, by *Blackrode* and *Preston*, to LANCASTER, &c.

The *Roman* road from LANCASTER to *Mancunium* (Manchester), was probably near the situation of the present road to the south; that from LANCASTER to *Bremetonacis* (Overborough), without doubt, ran not far distant from the *Lune*:† but the

\* See Map of Lancashire in the British Atlas, No. xii. The Roman roads in which were kindly sketched by the Rev. Thomas Leman, of Bath.—*Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. ix. p. 9.

† A Roman mile-stone (hereafter mentioned) inscribed to Hadrian, has been found at Caton, near Lancaster, and proves that the village of Caton has been built on or near the above-mentioned Roman road.

improved state of the country, in both instances, has destroyed all remains of it. The *Romans*, near their stations, had centinels, appointed by the prefect or tribune of the garrison, to keep watch at some convenient distance, always upon the highest hill they could meet with in the neighbourhood of their stations; if the station was situate in a flat country, they threw up a mount, and several of these mounts, in the neighbourhood of LANCASTER, are perfect at this day, viz., one at *Halton*,\* another at the east end of *Lune's* bridge, near *Hornby*, and a third at *Melling*. These mounts guarded the fords of the river, and also communicated from the garrison at LANCASTER to that at *Overborough*. The stations of LANCASTER and *Watercrock*, near *Kendal*, were connected by the beacon on *Warton Crag*, and the *Castellum*, now *Castle-steads*, near *Kendal*.† These mounts were called by the *Romans*, “montes exploratorii.”

Our antiquarian readers will, we doubt not, be much gratified by the following paper on the *Roman* roads in this county:—

“The great object of the *Romans* in extending their empire, was not merely to subdue, but also to secure and retain their conquests. Hence, wherever their victories gained for them the ascendancy, they strengthened their power by every means within the compass of their knowledge, to make their dominion lasting. They chose out the most select situations for their stations, and fortified them so strongly as to make them permanent. They also connected these military posts one with

\* Clark's Lancaster, p. 4.

† West's Guide to the Lakes.

another, by military ways or ramparts, along which their legions could march in safety; so that the whole extent of their territories, from the *Euphrates* to the *Atlantic* ocean, was one vast fortification: and so massive and durable were ~~these~~ works of their's, that remains are met with to this day, in spite of the want of a **higher** degree of civilization, and the sweeping nature of modern improvements.

"The *Romans* constructed three kinds of ways or roads. The *first* kind, during conquest, was the '*via militaris*,' properly so called, or the elevated highway from military station to station. The *second* kind was the '*via publica*,' or *public road*, made subsequently, for intercourse from one place to another, and to facilitate the arts of peace, and communication with the *Roman* capital. The *third* kind were the private roads, or '*viæ privatae*,' called also '*viæ vicinales*,' because, according to *Ulpian*, '*ad agros et vicos ducunt*.'

"The *military roads* were elevated three feet and upwards above the surface of the ground. They were paved on their summits throughout their whole length. Their direction was generally in perfectly straight lines from one point of ground to another, and were hence also called '*viæ stratæ*,' whence we derive our word *street*. From their elevation also we term them *highways*. This arose from their being lines of defence to the troops, as well as of passage, thereby enabling them to see the line before and behind them as far as possible, and so preventing them from being surprised by their enemies, or intercepted during their journeys. *Turnings* on these military roads were commonly

angles on the summits of elevations. The average *width* of such roads was about twenty-one feet, or a little more; and the line chosen out for them was on the highest ground that their direction would permit. On account of their being paved, the term used for constructing them was, ‘*munire viam*,’ to fortify or build a road.

“The *public ways*, except in the vicinity of *Rome*, or the head quarters of their provinces, were not *paved*, nor *elevated* above the surface of the ground. They were not laid out on the high grounds, between place and place, but on lower ground, and were not necessarily straight. They were covered with ‘*glareæ*,’ or gravel, and were fourteen feet wide, sufficient to allow two carriages or vehicles to pass one another.

“The *private*, or *vicinal ways*, were less broad; seldom exceeding seven feet in width. They had here and there, broader places, to allow vehicles to pass, in case two should meet travelling in opposite directions.

“They had also *cross roads*, or ‘*diverticula*,’ leading to less frequented places than the ordinary roads. Many of our early high-roads, public-roads, and bye and cross roads, were on the lines laid out by the *Romans*.

“Of the military roads constructed by the *Romans*, within the county of LANCASTER, three are mentioned in ‘*Itineraries*,’ or way-books, which have survived the vicissitudes of the various commotions that have agitated this country, since those would-be masters of the world left its shores. One of these, the ‘*Itinerary*’ of *Antoninus*, gives

us an account of most of the military roads, with the stations situated upon them, at the time he made his survey. The Tenth Iter, of this work. contains an account of the main military road which runs nearly north and south throughout the entire length of the county. Three of the stations named therein are situated by the general consent of antiquarians, within *Lancashire*. And, as but one of these stations has been determined by the universal agreement of all who have touched upon the subject, we will fix upon it as the starting point of our present sketch of the line of that military road. The station is that of *Mancunium*, situated at *Camp-field*, within the city of *Manchester*.

“This course will lead us in an opposite direction to that of the ‘Iter,’ but we shall derive assistance thereby as we proceed, because it takes us forward on the line of its first construction by the legionaries of *Rome*. The probable date of the period of its formation is A.D. 79, when *Agri-cola* subjugated the *Western Brigantes*, and the *Sistuntii* of the western coast, along the *Fylde* country.

“This *Roman* military road enters *Lancashire* at the old *ford* over the *Mersey* at *Stretford*, to which name it has given origin.\* The present public road through *Stretford* lies on the site of the old *Roman* road, so far as that continues straight, and runs thence towards *Manchester*. Owing to the immense size of *Manchester*, and the thick population of its suburbs and vicinity,

\* The *Street* on the *ford*.

it is impossible to tell the direction of the line to, or near, the station of *Mancunium*. It leaves *Manchester* sometimes upon, and if not, parallel with *Strangeways*, on the new road thence to *Bury*. Near *Prestwich*, the lines of road again correspond. Thence, with evident remains at intervals, it continues its straight course till it falls in again with the modern road; passes the *Dales*, and then crosses the river *Irwell*. Throughout the parish of *Radcliffe* its remains are frequently evident, and, occasionally, very conspicuous. For some length, it forms the boundary between the parishes of *Radcliffe* and *Bury*. Then it ascends the high ground at *Offyside*, and falls in with *Watling Street* there. Here its course is evident forward through *Edgeworth*, to the heights at *Blacksnape*, by falling in with the public road between *Bury* and *Blackburn*. The same line of its course may be seen similarly from the culminating point at *Blacksnape*, by its falling in again with the present road, through *Darwent* and so on to *Blackburn*. Near *Blackburn*, on both sides, all remains of it are wholly obliterated. Yet it soon appears again as you ascend towards *Rivedge*, and may thence be traced to the high ground at *Ramsgreave*. At *Ramsgreave* the descent commences towards the river *Ribble*, and there, at one stretch, may its whole length be made out by the eye, from the feet of the observer to the horizon, on the top of *Longridge Fell*, an almost continuous line of fences marking its course to the *Ribble*, and a road, and the *Green-lane* on *Longridge*, its direction beyond the river. Numerous most marked remains may

be met with between *Rams-greave* and the *Ribble*, one or two nearly as perfect as when last the *Roman* soldier marched homeward from the spot; several of the stones, which his predecessors placed there, still remaining unmoved from their places. Close to the *Ribble* the road makes an angle to the ford below the bridge, which leads from *Walton-le-Dale* to *Ribchester*. This angle suggests to the mind the great change which has taken place in the channel of the river, since the time when *Agricola's* soldiers first forded it. It shows that the stream runs more than its own breadth from its course at that time, and that now cattle graze on a fine fertile pasturage of alluvial soil, where then the ensigns of the eternal city crossed this fine river, which intersects the county. *Ribchester*, an undoubted and extensive *Roman* station—a mine of antiquities—is more than half a mile lower down the stream than where the *Romans* crossed it.

As usual in the proximity to *Roman* stations, all traces of the line of the road are lost. *Stony-gate*, at some distance, falls in with the line, and thence to the summit of *Longridge Fell*, fine remains of the road may be found. The road does not fall exactly upon the line of the *Green Lane* thereon, as is the common opinion, but deviates a little to the left. And when the very apex of *Longridge* is gained, and the vale of the *Hodder* is seen forward, then an angle is formed in the line of the road to the eastward. Perhaps at this point as extensive a bird's-eye view of a *Roman* road may be seen, as the north of *England* contains. Glancing backward, its course may

be seen, as before related, to *Rams-greave*, from four to five miles distant. Looking forward, the line shews itself in a similar manner to *Browsholme* heights: an equal distance, or greater. So true were the *Romans* in the method of laying out their lines of military roads, that with the exception of a very slight angle indeed, on the summit of *Black-snape*—even the accuracy of the *Ordnance survey* could not detect a deviation from a perfectly straight line between this place and *Manchester*, a distance approaching thirty miles. Here may be surmised the method which the *Romans* adopted, to form their straight lines, in constructing this kind of roads. Among the mountains seen hence in the distance, the top of *Pen-y-gent* stands most prominent. With the eye fixed upon its summit, the whole line of the *Roman* road seems to stretch directly towards it, as if it had been the object aimed at. They appear hence to have had some striking object in the distance to direct them. Numerous remains of the road occur between *Longridge Fell* and *Browsholme* heights. Two modern roads are upon the site of it, *Lees-lane* beyond the *Hodder*, and the lane leading up to *Browsholme* heights. On *Browsholme* heights *Pen-y-gent* disappears from the horizon and *Ingleborough* starts up. Again an angle is made on the top of the hill, and the line proceeds straight from it towards *Ingleborough* on the horizon. Past *Crompton*, over *Birkett Moss*, the remains are very evident. Beyond the *Hodder* from *Gamble Hall*, when the road enters upon a lime-stone district to the north-west of *Newton* in *Bowland*, and thence



to the foot of *Croasdale*, a continuous ridge marks out the straight course of the line. Here commenced a difficulty to the *Romans* in their progress northward. Immediately in front, a steep mountain barred up their passage. The easiest exit from the valley of the *Hodder* into the vale of *Lune*, by the cross at *Greta*, was too much to the eastward of their course. Nothing therefore but a gradual ascent up *Croasdale*, was left them. From the nature of the ground, they were compelled to depart from one of the principles of their military road-making. A road in a straight line was impracticable for troops heavily armed. They therefore yielded up this point, but took care that the sloping line of the ascent should be straight notwithstanding; so that a view might be secured from one point to another. Care was also taken that this gradually ascending line in no point approached a steep part of the mountain, from which the troops could be assailed with stones rolling down upon them, or by missiles. In this way the road ascended up *Croasdale*, and then continued above *Whittingdale* until it passed the inaccessible heights of *Botton Head Fell*, the present public road from *Slaidburn* to *Hornby*, occupying its site the whole way. Where the line of the military road turned off to meet the first remains, near the foot of *Botton Fell*, no one yet has been able to discover; the boggy nature of the soil having in all probability, overgrown the bold *agger* built by the warriors of imperial *Rome*.

Towards the foot of *Botton Fell*, the *Roman* road again becomes conspicuous, and is known as

such to the neighbouring inhabitants. It continues evident within the enclosed grounds passing through the estates named the *Swans* and *Ivah*, until it falls in with the present public road at the village of *Lowgill*. Remains continue at intervals, after it leaves the public road, until it reaches the high ground on the *Hill* estate, in *Tatham*. Here are some parts of the road still almost perfect. Hence, on account of the steep banks on the side of the river *Wenning*, it became necessary to deviate from the continuous straight line of its course. As usual, on the highest point of the *Hill* estate, an angle is formed to join the ford at *Bentham* Bridge. Beyond the *Wenning* the road falls in with two old roads, and is here again known by the old inhabitants, as part of the *Roman* road. Having reached the high ground again at *Borrens* barn, a deviation to the left was made towards old *Wennington*. In one place only, betwixt these two places, can any traces of the road be seen. Indeed, great difficulties to ascertain its actual course between the two rivers of the *Wenning* and the *Greta* exist. But, as on the north side of the *Greta*, the remains are the most conspicuous, the line intermediate must have joined the two points, and the difficulty thus is greatly lessened. If the line of the road had been continued to the *Greta* without turning off to the right, the same obstacle, in precipitous banks, as on the *Wenning*, would have rendered crossing of the river at that point impossible. Tradition says that about a quarter of a mile higher up the stream was a *Roman* bridge, and at the place speci-

fied there is certainly the appearance of an abutment, such as leads up to a bridge, highly raised, and very conspicuous ; but whether there are such remains of its foundations as are always found where such bridges have been built, I have not yet had an opportunity of examining. North of the *Greta*, the *Roman* road turns northward, and forming across the flat grounds at *Collingholme*, as fine a specimen of remains as can be found on the whole *Iter*, it falls in with an old road leading to *Overton*, having the *Roman* station at *Overburrow* nearly a mile to the west. It then crosses the *Leck* brook, passes by the farm house called the *Gales*, falls in with the road to the house, then joins the long level of the high road from *Kirkby Lonsdale* to *Ingleton*, and having here crossed the boundary between *Lancashire* and *Westmoreland*, stretches up along *Wandale's-lane* in *Casterton*, straight forward up the vale of the *Lune*."

"Another way-book, or Itinerary either copied from some more extensive work, or better MSS. of *Antoninus*, or from some other authority has been preserved to our times. This is the "Itinerary" of *Richard*, a monk of *Cirencester*. His tenth *Iter*, in one part of it, is a parallel to the tenth of *Antoninus* already mentioned. The parallel stands thus, *Brocavonacis ad Alaunam*..... *Coccio*..... *Man-cunio*, m.p. xviii. Little doubt, I think, can be entertained, but that the "Alione" of *Antoninus* is the same station as the "Ad Alaunam" of *Richard*. From *Alaunam*, however, *Richard* goes at once to *Coccium*, omitting two stations given in *Antoninus*, viz.,—*Galacum* and *Bremetonacæ*, and

more than this, he has assigned no distances between *Alauna* and the station next north of it, nor between it and *Coccium* southward; so that while he verifies *Antoninus* by securing certain stations on the same line of military road, he varies from him in others. Yet connecting *Coccium* with *Mancunium*, and according with *Antoninus* in the distance between the two stations, he supports *Antoninus* though the latter is the more correct account of the *Iter*. We thus have two authorities for the line of military road which we have traced out in this paper. With the *stations* on the *Iter* we have nothing to do; nor with the opinions of others, as to its line, direction, &c., who differ from us; because our object is not to find fault either with what our predecessors have done or left undone, but to give to the society a just account of a fact as it simply is, as history ever should do, leaving that fact, and our account of it, to stand simply connected by themselves, for the assistance and satisfaction of all others hereafter, who may think fit to do as we have done, go, see, observe, and judge for themselves.†

† On the Roman Roads in Lancashire, with a particular account of the Tenth *Iter* of *Antoninus*. By John Just, Esq., of the Grammar School, Bury.—*Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: Proceedings and Papers*. Session 1, 1848-9, pp. 68—76.

## CHAPTER V.

## ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

THE historian of *Eboracum*, the capital of *Maxima Cæsariensis*, and the birth-place of *Constantine the Great*, has observed, that *York*, once the imperial residence, stands upon a magazine of *Roman* antiquities; and the same observation may be made, though certainly in a more limited degree, with regard to LANCASTER. Altars, statues, urns, and coins, &c., all of *Roman* construction, have been found in this town and neighbourhood.

*Leland* mentions that, though he could find no remnants of *Roman* architecture in LANCASTER, "in those partes in the fieldes and fundations hath been found moche *Romayne* coyne."\*

Dr. *Kuerden*, in his unfinished and unpublished MSS. on the history of *Preston*, entitled "*Gilda Mercatoria Ribodunum, seu Prestoniensis cum Hansa in agro Lancasteriense*," assigning his reasons for believing that *Preston* was the *Ribodunum* of the *Romans*, thus refers to the town of LAN-

\* *Itin.* vol. v. p. 93.

CASTER,† under the ancient name of *Cair Weridd*. “From this *Ribodunum* to the other Roman garrison of *Longovicum*, or *Caerwerid*, of the *Brittains*, their *Green City*, there was another lesser strata leading betwixt them, as diuers signes of a like rampire ouer *Preston* and *Fulwood* more towards *Garstang* by *Broughton*, are yet conspicuous to the inquisitiue obseruations of many learned men as well as vulgar people. Moreouer, at *Myerscogh*, a parke within the forest of *Amunderness*, some six or seven miles northward from *Ribodunum*, in or nere the publiq high way to the afforesaid *Caer Werid* of the *Brittains*, or the *Longovicum* of the *Romans*, or *LANCASTER* of the *Saxons*, or the now borough of *LANCASTER* of the *Normans*; and not many years agoe, within the parke afforesaid, in digging or cleansing of a ditch, was found a *Roman* vrne, in which was found great store of antient coynes, most of which I myselfe have seen, and were, for some yeares after, carefully preserued or bestowed on friends by that ingenious gentleman, *Edward Towneley*, esq., the proprietor, and owner of the parke of ground where this vrne was found. Which place in a perambulation by the learned obseruers may be conjecturd to have been some *Taberna*, or bathing place, for the *Roman* soldiers, who marched up this strata from *Ribodunum* to the next remarkable *Roman* garrison scil: of their *Longovicum* at *Caer Werid*, or *LANCASTER*, as the same is now called. It is likewise worth the consideration at this time to observe how the *Romans*

† Kuerden's MSS., vol. vi., fol. 121, cap. ii., in the Heralds' College, London.

for the most part placed their maritime garrisons, either upon or near some remarkable æstuarium and not far from it, as for example:—One being placed at *Caer Legionis*, or the now *West Chester*, near the *Sateia*, and upon the river *Deua* or *Dee*. And another at *Caer Werid* upon the æstuarium of *Lune*, now called LANCASTER.”

“To know what our ancestors were, observes *Dr. Leigh*,\* cannot be more lively delineated to us, than by the ruins we discover of those days; hence it is that by penetrating the bowels of the earth, we can trace the footsteps of our forefathers, and imprint upon our mind some ideas of their times: the politeness of the *Roman* eloquence was admirable, and methinks to see the *Vas Lacrymatorium*, as the last obsequy to a deceased friend, as we are men, demonstrates to us what we ought to be, but, as we are Christians, much more: but alas! an adequate idea of those days cannot be expected, yet I shall endeavour to raise the *Phoenix* from its ashes, and in order to that give you an account of some *Roman* urns, with other remarkable antiquities, of which these counties furnish us with no small variety; the most noted place for these is *Ribchester*, in *Lancashire*.”

Speaking of the antiquities of LANCASTER, he remarks:† “At LANCASTER, lately in digging up of a cellar of Mr. *Partington*’s, were found several *Roman Disci* and *Sympuvia*, or cups used in sacri-

\* The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak, in Derbyshire, with an account of the British, Phœnician, Armenian, Greek Roman Antiquities in those parts.—By Charles Leigh, Doctor of Physic. Oxford, folio, MDCC.

† Book, iii. p. 10.

fices, and coins, as some of *Ælius*, *Adrianus*, and *Augustus Cæsar*; the cups have upon their sides the figures of various creatures, and JULIUS FLAVIUS in letters; on the bottom of one of these appeared very legibly these letters, REGIN I., which we may easily interpret, a *Discus* used in sacrificing to *Juno*, as she was stiled *Regina Cæli*. These and the foregoing observations, together with the *Roman* wall there, commonly called the *Weary-Wall*, abundantly demonstrate that ancient town to have been a most eminent *Roman* station at the least.

“In the year 1772, in digging a cellar where an old house had stood in *Pudding-lane*,\* there was found† reversed in a bed of fine sand, above five feet under ground, a square stone, of four feet by two and a half dimensions, on which was inscribed

DIS·MANI  
BVS  
LIVL APoL  
LINARIS  
REVTER AN  
XXX·EQ AI  
AE AI  
IV

“A foot and two inches were broken off the lower corner on the right hand side, so as to render the inscription obscure, but the remaining letters were very plain, elegantly formed, square, and about three inches high. The inscription had consisted of eight or nine lines, of which six are entire

\* Now called Cheapside.

† Cooke's Topographical Description of the County of Lancaster.



and of easy explanation; the loss in the seventh is readily supplied; but the eighth must be made out by the common style of such votive stones. The elegance of the characters pronounces them to be the work of the best times; but the small letters in the third and fifth lines reduce it to the age of the Emperor *Gordian*; and if the three small letters have been occasioned by the omission of the sculptor, then it will be of higher antiquity. It is known by the inscriptions found at *Olenacum* (old Carlisle), that the *Augustan* wing mentioned on this tablet was stationed there in the time of *Gordian*; and now, from this inscription, it seems also to have been at LANCASTER.”\*

This remarkable stone was formerly in the collection of Sir *Ashton Lever*, knight, at *Leicester House, London*; afterwards preserved in the *Leve-rian Museum*, near *Blackfriars Bridge*.†

“A.D. 1776, on sinking the cellars for a large house at the upper part of *Church-street* in this town, now building by *Daniel Wilson*, esq., on the site of which stood some very old houses (formerly called the Judges'-lodgings) was discovered at about six feet below the present surface of the street, a supposed *Roman* burying-place, as burnt wood, bones, and ashes, broken pateræ, urns, *Roman* bricks, gutter tiles, coins, horns of animals, &c., were found; also, two fragments of thick walls, at about five yards distant from each other in a direction from front to back, and seeming to continue under *Church-street*, betwixt which are

\* West's Guide to the Lakes.

† The Collection has since been sold and dispersed.

several large stones, some of which were hewn. By this it may be conjectured, to have been a vault to deposit the ashes of the dead, and fallen in, or pulled down, at some time, as there were found, within the walls, several pieces of urns, an earthen sepulchral lamp entire (the end of the spout where the wick came out was burnt black), broken pateræ, burnt bones, ashes, a large human skull, *Roman* coins, &c., also at the north end a well, filled with hewn stones, but not meddled with. There is a descent of about seventy or eighty yards from the back part of the house, to where it is thought the river *Lon* anciently ran, but now built upon. The ground on the said back part was levelled a great many yards, equal with the cellar floor; where also were found, from three to six feet deep, according to the descent, burnt wood, bones, ashes, broken pateræ, urns, and other pieces of vessels of different shapes, *Roman* coins, boars' tusks, nails almost eaten with rust, pieces of lead, brass, &c. The stratum of ashes and bones was from a foot to about five feet thick. It no doubt runs quite under *Church-street*, if not farther, as in digging a drain on the opposite side of *Church-street*, and to the westward of Mr. *Wilson's* house, at about six feet under the surface was found the same sort of stratum of ashes, bones, pateræ, boars' tusks, a small brazen head like a dog's, which by the appearance of the back part of it has been fixed to something; the pedestal and feet part of a small image, thought to have been a *Car*, with an inscription, (it seems to be made of plaister of Paris, or some such matter); pieces of glass

of a blueish-green colour, &c. One bottom of a patera found here had stamped on it *Cadgates*, perhaps the maker's name. These vessels are of a fine brown colour, far superior to the *Staffordshire* brown ware, elegantly varnished or glazed, some plain, others finely embossed with different sorts of figures, animals, and birds. The urns are in form of different sorts of jars, of a coarse kind, much like the oil jars; and some of a black colour, as if burnt in the fire, some small, and some very large; but none entire, being broken into several small pieces. Some have large handles. Nothing *Roman* was found above the burnt strata of ashes, bones, &c., which it may be conjectured was the then surface of the ground; and where the funeral rites were performed, the burnt bones and ashes of the persons might be buried under this stratum, as they were found in that situation with the pieces of urns. The inscriptions on the coins were none of them perfect, except one of brass, of *Marcus Aurelius*; and another small one of silver, a fine impression, and in high preservation, of *Faustina*, his wife; on the head, DIVA FAUSTINA PIA; reverse, a monument, with CONSECRATIO. The burying place, is a little to the eastward, and without the wall of the *Roman* fortification where the garrison was kept, as there now remain several vestiges of the wall, sufficient to evince that it has taken up great part of the hill where the church and castle stand, and part of the upper end of *Church-street*. About one hundred yards to the eastward of Mr. *Wilson's* new house, on the opposite side of *Church-street*, on digging

a cellar, a few years ago, for a new house, Mr. *Henry Baynes's*, were found several large hewn stones, and one about six feet under the surface, supposed to be about three tons weight, of which several cellar steps were made; and about a ton weight still remains in its place under which were found a great many *Roman* coins, of *Domitian*, and *Vespasian*, &c., it is thought to be the corner stone of a temple or other public building.

N.B. There were found in Mr. *Wilson's* cellar, as also in the drain in *Church-street*, several stones, thought to have been pieces of small hand mill-stones, of about thirteen inches in diameter when whole, of a blueish-grey colour, and exceeding hard; they are about three inches thick at the outer edges, and not an inch in the middle. ”\*

In the spring of the year 1794, a group of *Roman* antiquities was found by the canal-excavators, deposited in a field near the road from *Lancaster* to *Cockerham*, about a mile from *Ashton Hall*, the seat of the Duke of *Hamilton*, consisting of a headless figure of *Ceres*, about two feet in height, four sculptured heads, and two sea-lions cut in free stone. These ancient relics suffered some mutilation by the tools of the workmen, and they are now in the garden of *B. P. Gregson*, esq., of *Caton*.†

In the church-yard of *Halton*, close to the *Saxon cross*, an altar was dug up, and conveyed

\* Antiquities discovered in Lancaster, 1776. By Mr. West, Author of the “Antiquities of Furness.” Communicated by Mr. Lort. Read to the Society of Antiquaries, London, 9th May, 1776. *Archæologia*.

† Baines, vol. iv. p. 487.

to the stable-yard at *Halton Hall*. It bore the following inscription:—

DEO  
MART...  
SABINV...  
P. P. ET. MILIT...  
N. BARC. S...  
EIIVS. P. O...

On this, Dr. *Whitaker* observes, "This is no less curious and valuable than the last. Indeed, both as to the motive assigned, and the expression, it is perfectly unique. "Milites in barca:" the last is a semi-barbarous *Latin* word,\* which is exactly translated by the modern word, bark; and it is evident that the altar now before us was a votive offering, when the body of soldiers who made the offering, were *embarking* on some military expedition. Among all the formulæ of *Roman* inscriptions, I have never seen anything resembling this."†

In making the alterations in LANCASTER castle, A.D. 1797,‡ a perfect and beautiful altar was found at a little distance without the old wall, of which the Rev. F. *Lee* gives the following account:—§

"It was dug up in clearing away some earth for improving and enlarging the Castle. This antique relick lay concealed at a little distance without the old wall between *Adrian's*|| round tower and the great square one of *Saxon* architecture.

\* Vide Stephani Lexicon Latinum in voce *Barca*.

† Richmondshire, vol. ii. p. 215.

‡ 1795, Clark, p. 79.

§ Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 401.

|| So called, and the lower part of the tower is evidently of Roman workmanship.

This small votive altar was deposited about six feet from the surface of the ground. The height of the altar is 2 feet 2½ inches; the width at the base 1 foot 4 inches; the width at the middle 1 foot; the thickness at the base, 1 foot; and the thickness at the middle, 10 inches. The inscription appears to be

DEO  
SANCTO MARTI  
COCIDIO VIBINIUS  
LVCIVS BI CoS  
V. S. L. M.\*

BI is a contraction of *Balbius* on the authority of *Manutius*. The small o between C and S is probably a stop, since no such name as *Vibinius Lucius Balbius* occurs in the list of consuls given at the end of *Horsley's "Britannia Romana"*; the two letters C. S. are well known to signify "communi sumptu."

The topical deity, *Cocidius*, is undoubtedly the same with the *Cocis* of *Horsley*; of whom, as that excellent antiquary observes, nothing more is known; though it is most probable that he was an adopted *British* deity.†

"The discovery of this votive tablet seems to indicate this to have been the situation of the *Roman* station *Longovicum*, mentioned in the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, where the imperial lieutenant of *Britain* (as the *Notitia* informs us) kept a company of the *Longovici* in garrison.

\* "Deo sancto Marti Cocidio, Vibinius Lucius, beneficiarius Consulis, votum solvit lubens merito." BI. is conjectured by some, to be a contraction for *Balbius*.—*Clark*, p. 79. For BI Whitaker gives BF.

† Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 215.

This altar is preserved in the *Castle*, in the arcade under the county-hall.

Three altars have been found in *Cumberland* dedicated to the local deity *Cocidius*.\*

“ The inscription in *Horsley* is DEO COCIDI, which he supposed to be the dative of *Cocis*, but from these recent discoveries it appears to have been *Cocideus* or *Cocidius*, and an addition to the name of Mars. The *O* was probably omitted in the former for want of room, as the *I* is quite at the edge of the altar.†

In the year 1798, on cutting a drain in *Church-street*, which leads to the *Castle*, several *Roman* coins were discovered among the remains of a *Roman* pottery.

“ In the year 1802, at a place called the *Folly*, in the township of *Skerton*, and parish of LANCASTER, another *Roman* altar was found, of the ordinary form and moderate size having the following inscription :—

DEO  
IALONO  
CONTRE  
SANCTISSI  
MO IVLIVS  
IANVARIVS  
EMEXDECV.‡

On this Dr. *Whitaker* remarks, no severity of

\* See *Archæologia*, Vol. xi., p. 70., and *Horsley's Britannia Romana*, p. 257.

† Extract of a letter from the Rev. Francis Lee, M.A. to Mark Masterman Sykes, Esq., F.A.S.—Read March 16, 1797. *Archæologia*.

‡ Deo Ialano (conterraneo ?) Sanctissimo Julius Januarius Emeritus ex Decurione.

reason, no coldness of caution, can check the enthusiasm of an antiquary, who persuades himself that he has discovered the topical deity of *Lune*, DEO IALONO. The altar inscribed '*Verbeie sacrum*', has from the time of *Camden* downward been allowed as a dedication to the nymph of the *Wharf*, and *Ialono* is not more remote from the word *Lune*.\*

*Gildas* states† that rivers were loaded with divine honours by the blind people of *Britain*; and there appears to be no objection to consider *Ialonus* the river deity. It may be observed that the altar, found at *Ilkley*, and inscribed "*Verbeie sacrum*" was erected in the water.‡

Others have read the inscription, so far at least as the first two lines are concerned;—thus,

"Deo *Jovi* Auxiliario *Lonovicum* "to *Jupiter* the titular God of the *Lonovices*."§

"Since the discovery of the above, another *Roman* altar has been found in a garden in the Vicarage field, near the track of the *Wery-wall*. It bears no inscription, but on one side the figure of a *sacrificial knife* is visible ||

Whenever cellars have been sunk, or similar excavations made in certain parts of LANCASTER, a variety of *Roman* antiquities have been invariably discovered; and particularly in the upper part of *Church-street*.

A.D. 1809: "Within the last few days,¶ upon carrying a drain through *Church-street*, to meet

\* Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 214.

† Cap. 2.

‡ Baines, vol. iv. p. 488.

§ Clarke, p. 80.

|| Baines, vol. iv., p. 488.

¶ Lancaster Gazette, 1809.



with one from the *Castle*, the foundation of a wall, composed of large hewn stones, laid in regular courses, has been brought to light; also many fragments of a beautiful red species of *Pottery*, with figures embossed in relief. On one, there is *Apollo* playing on a lyre; on another, a horse, in full speed. It would appear that it has been the custom to stamp the makers' names on the bottom of these vessels, as letters forming part of such names, are fresh on this part of several of the fragments alluded to. On one of them is "QVINTILIANI. M." as distinct of if just turned out of the maker's hands. And this affords a striking instance of the near approach of the ancients to the art of printing, without discovering it. To imprint a word, or a name, on soft clay, with a stamp, where the letters were regularly arranged, might so easily have been transferred to parchment or papyrus, that it seems wonderful the application should never have occurred. But perhaps the story of *Columbus* and the egg may be every day applied, where it is little suspected."

"Several coins have also been found; some so much defaced as to be incapable of being made out. One, however, of silver, is in tolerable preservation—"ANTONINVS" is plainly legible round the head; and on the reverse is a figure of Justice sitting."

"One of copper is in more perfect preservation. The inscription round the head is, "FAUSTINA AVGVSTA"; on the reverse is a figure standing with this legend, "IVNONI REGINAE SC."

This coin will be found enumerated in *Patin's* "Index Numismatum," p. 412.

"These coins point out the time when they might be supposed to have been deposited, viz., about 1650 years ago,"\*

In the spring of 1811, a *Roman* milliarium, or milestone, was found in ploughing a field adjoining the canal, in the township of *Ashton*, so near the surface of the earth, that it was struck by the ploughshare of the husbandman. It bore the following inscription, in very slender letters:—

IMP. C. M. JVLIO

PHILIPPO.

PIO. FEL. AVG.†

This stone must have been erected about A. D. 247, for this *pious*, *fortunate*, and *august* emperor was originally an obscure *Arabian* soldier, who by his merits obtained the first military appointments, and rose to the sovereign power by assassinating the emperor *Gordian* the younger, A.D. 244, and was himself proclaimed emperor, and afterwards murdered at *Verona*, A.D. 249. This gives the age of the stone.

From the discovery of this stone, we find that the *Roman* military way from LANCASTER to *Ribchester* pursued nearly the track of the present canal. And the northward road from LANCASTER to *Overborough* may be traced through *Caton*.‡

In the beck of *Artlebeck*, near *Caton*, an accidental flood not many years ago, brought down a

\* *Lancaster Gazette*, 7th October, 1809, p. 3., col. 5.

† *Imperatorii Cæsari Marco Julio Philippo Pio Felici Augusto*,—"To the pious, fortunate and august Emperor Marcus Julius Philippus."

‡ *Clark*, p. 122.

very fine milliary stone of the time of *Hadrian*. The inscription was as follows:—

“IMP. CÆS. TR. HADRIANVS. AVG.  
PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. COS. III.  
PAT. PATRIÆ, CENTVRIA. SECVNDA.  
MILL. PASS. QUINQUE.”

Southward from the town, and in cutting the bed of the canal through *Borough*, (a place which carries antiquity in its name), was found another milliary stone inscribed as follows with the name of the Emperor *Philip*:—

“IMP. C. M. JVLIO. PHILIPPO.  
PIO. FEL. AVG.”

It is now placed in the garden of *Stoddard-lodge*.

At the same place, and on the same occasion, were discovered several sculptures indisputably *Roman*, but without any inscription. Of these the drapery of the headless statue is far from contemptible; the rest will be better described by the pencil and the graver than by the pen.\*

In September, 1812, in cutting a drain through the midst of *Pudding-lane*, two *Roman* milestones, many pieces of earthenware, and a few bones were found.

A *Hypocaust*, or *Roman* pottery (similar to those discovered at *Slack*, the *Roman Cambodunum*, about the middle of the last century, and also in the year 1824,) was found on the estate of the Honourable *Edward Clifford*,† at *Quernmore*, some

\* See Dr. Whittaker's History of Richmondshire, vol. 2., p. 215. where a plate of these remains is given.

† Now of William Garnett, Esq.

years ago, great variety of bricks, tiles, and earthen vessels were taken from the ovens. A tile with elevated edges, and a number of the bricks bore the inscription of ALA SEBVSIA, which designates a wing of *Roman* cavalry not before known, and these antiquities are supposed to be of the time of the Emperor *Severus*, in the year 204, when that sovereign, from his imperial palace at *York*, had given his orders for the erection of this most gigantic of all *British* structures, ancient or modern, the wall of *Severus*.\*

In A.D. 1830, a stone was found by the workmen employed in digging a cellar on the *Castle-hill*; it is a plain, square monument, with an imperfect inscription, which seems to record the death of a son of *Julian Probus*.†

A.D. 1834, was found in the same field as the stone marked A,‡ a dedicatory pillar with this inscription:—

IMPCDN  
CAIO MESSIO  
QUINTO DEC  
TRAIAN OP FEL  
ICIINVICTO AVG.

Of late years, large quantities of *Roman* coins have been discovered. One, both rare and curious was found in December, A.D. 1834, in the garden of *Joseph Dockray*, Esq., a little below the Parish Church. It is a small silver piece of about two penny-weights, of the Emperor *Otho*, who reigned

\* Baines, vol. iv., p. 487.

† Baines, vol. iv., p. 489.

‡ Clark, p. 74.

in A.D. 69. Surrounding the bust of the emperor, is the legend—"IMP. M. OTHO. CÆSAR. AVG. TR. P." On the reverse.—"SECVRITAS. P.R."\* surrounding a figure, bearing in the right hand a chaplet, and in the left a spear.

A coin found in the *Church-yard* is inscribed "CONSTANTIUS. NOB. CHES." In this cemetery about a hundred coins of *Constantine* and *Probus* have been picked up at different times, within these few years; as also others of *Licinius*, *Dioclesian*, *Maximus*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Domitian*, *Vespasian*, *Hadrian*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Commodus*.†

In October, 1847, a *Roman cinerary* was found in making a drain in *Queen's-square*; it is about eighteen inches high, of unburnt clay and the bulge is marked with lines; it contained burnt bones and the skull of a child. The urn is in the possession of Miss *Heaton*, near whose house it was found.

In 1840, a similar urn to the above was found in digging the foundation of *St. Thomas's Church*.

A.D. 1849, an iron spear-head was found in digging for the junction of the *North Western* and *Carlisle* railways, at the point where they meet in *Marsh-lane*. Many *Roman* coins also were found at the same time.

A very fine *Roman* altar, though not quite perfect, was found in a garden near the top of *Church-street*, in LANCASTER, which is thus des-

\* "Imperatore Marco Othone Cæsare Augusto Tribunitia potestate."  
—"Securitas Populi Romani."—*Baines*, vol. iv., p. 489,

† *Baines*, vol. iv., p. 489.

cribed by the Rev. Dr. *Whitaker*,† who gives a facsimile of it, with its fractures and erasures. There is, I think, little difficulty in supplying the deficiencies and restoring the erasures; so that the whole, when read at length, will stand thus :—

“*Imperatore Maroo Aurelio Antonino Augusto, Balineum refectum et Basilicam vetustate conlabeam a solo restitutam Equites Alae Sebussianae Antoniniana sub Octavio Sabino, viro consulari, praeside nostro, curante Flavio Ammausio, praefecto Equitum dictorum undecimo Kalendas Septembres, Censore secundum et Lipido secundum consule.*”

“Plain, however, as this reading appears to be, it will require a commentary. And first, with respect to the date; *Lipidus* (a provincial corruption of *Lepidus*) and *Censor* appear to have been *Consules Suffecti* only, as their names do not occur in the Consular Fasti. Secondly, I have assumed that the first erasure obliterated the titles of *Caracalla*; not because his names, alone, of all the deceased monsters who governed the *Roman* world, were effaced by order of the Senate; but because the space will just contain my supplement according to a scale (Oh shades of Sir *William Fleetwood*!!), and besides that the honorary epithet of the legion, which I have supposed, occupies the same space; in addition to which, we know that the word *Antoninus*, in particular, as in any way applied to *Caracalla*, was directed by the same authority to be expunged. In the next place, we have no other authority for an *Ala Sebussiana* in *Britain* but from this stone, which is itself a competent witness. *Sabis* is the river *Sambre*: and I have little doubt that it is this word corruptly and vulgarly pronounced, out of which the word *Sebus-*

† History of Richmondshire, vol. ii., p. 213—214.

*siana* was formed. The garrison of LANCASTER, therefore, at the date of the inscription, was an *ala* of *Gallic* horse from the banks of the *Sambre*, their prefect being *Flavius Ammausius*, to whom had been committed the charge of restoring the dilapidated bath and court-house of the station. In the last place, a *Sabinus*, V.C., is mentioned in the 'Life of *Heliogabalus*,' by *Lampridius*, and was, most probably, the person alluded to in this inscription:—" *Sabinum*, consularem virum, ad quem libros *Ulpianus* scripsit, quod in urbe remansisset, vocato centurione mollioribus verbis, jussit occidi; sed centurio, aure surdior, imperari sibi credidit ut urbe pelleretur; idque fecit; sic vitium centurionis *Sabino* saluti fuit." At all events, we have here a new president of *Britain*, which may be added to *Horsley's* catalogue, about the year 215.

Restitutions of decayed edifices, about this time, are not uncommonly recorded in inscriptions; and the expression, "vetustate conlabsum," may surely be employed to prove that the establishment of a station at LANCASTER was contemporary with the conquest of the *Brigantes* (of whom the *Setantii* were a subordinate tribe) by *Agricola*. A period of 140 or 150 years is not too much to allow for the decay of a public building constructed by *Roman* architects.

On one side of this stone, it will be observed, that there are sculptured two dolphins, which probably allude to the maritime character of the place. At the same time, when it was discovered, remains of the bath, to which it refers, were also taken up. It appears to have been

a cold bath, as there were no appearances of an hypocaust; and the paving, as usual, had been channeled to prevent the feet of the bathers from slipping.”\*

The field immediately below the church-yard of *St. Mary*, and between it and the river, retains the appearance of a *Roman* fortification, a double vallum, and only a few years since, a portion of the wall which had surrounded it, was visible in the path that leads from the church to the quay; and another part under the north wall of the summer-house in the garden of Mr. *Willan*, still exists. The portions which projected into *Bridge-lane* have been removed, but in a garden on the declivity of the hill, to the north, and behind houses leading to the quay, some slight remains of the wall may still be seen. From these specimens, it appears to have been a strongly cemented mass, six feet in thickness, bearing the precise character of the remains of the *Roman* castle of *Manchester*. *Stukeley*, the learned antiquarian, thus speaks of it:—“I found a great piece of the wall made of the white stone of the country, and very hard mortar, and still very thick, though the facing on both sides has been peeled off for the sake of the square stones which they used in building. A year or two ago, a great parcel of it was destroyed with much labour. This reached quite to the *Bridge-lane*, and hung over the street, at the head of the precipice, in a dreadful manner: it went round the verge of the close north of the church, and took in the whole circuit of the hill, and the

\* Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii., pp. 213, 214.



ditch on the north side of it is now to be seen. I suppose it enclosed the whole top of the hill where the church and castle stand.”\* The foundation of the part removed was embedded in clay, a practice probably adopted by the *Romans* from the *Britons*, who doubtless had to assist materially in the erection of these monuments of their own subjection, and might thus prepare for them as they had aforetime prepared for their own hovels, by a layer of clay, over which to place the first course of stones.

This wall is mentioned in the charter of foundation of LANCASTER priory, granted by *Roger de Poictou*, as one of the boundaries, by the title of the ancient wall, “e veteri muro.” *Leland* thus speaks of it:—“The old waule of the circuite of the Priory cummith almost to *Lune-bridge*. Sum have therby supposid that it was a peace of the waulle of the towne. But yndeade I espyed in noe place that the towne was ever wallid.” From which remark it is evident that he was unacquainted with the grant above alluded to, and thus fell into the error of supposing that the wall was built for the priory, whilst the charter describes it as an accepted boundary before the priory existed. *Camden* attributes it to the *Romans*, and remarks that it was called “*Wery Wall*,” from *Weridd*, the name of the *British* town which existed here before the arrival of the *Romans*. *West* supports this opinion.

Though agreeing, in the main, with *Camden's* opinion that this “*Wery Wall*” on the *Castle-hill*,

\* Itin. Curios., vol. ii. p. 38.

is a fragment of *Roman* works, we cannot discover how the ancient name of "*Cair Weridd*" being given to the town, can be received as proof of such an hypothesis. For if, as he states, "*Hoc enim oppidum illi [Britanni] 'Cair Werid,' urbem viridem dixerunt, a viridante forsitan illo colle,*"\* surely the *Wery* wall should be rather the *Green* wall, or bank: but, as this learned historian pithily remarks, "*sed hæc viderint alij.*"

\* Brit. p. 620, edit. 1590.

## CHAPTER VI.

## SAXON LANCASTER.

AFTER the departure of the *Romans*, which appears to have taken place near the close of the reign of *Honorius*, the state of *South Britain* soon became more deplorable than ever. The walls, which the legions had repaired, proved but a feeble barrier against the ferocious invaders, who spread devastation far and wide, and turned a great part of the country into a desert. They were not indeed prompted by a thirst for conquest so much as by the love of plunder; for they never attempted to form any permanent settlement in *South Britain*, yet their periodical expeditions were not the less ruinous. The inhabitants who lived nearest the wall fled to the southern parts of the island: and it is highly probable, that during some of these years of disaster, this district, and a great part of the north of *England* lay desolate. When the Romanized *Britons* were reduced to the greatest extremities, the plundering hordes having penetrated further and further into the country, they again implored the aid of their ancient protectors;

presenting an humble and moving petition to the celebrated *Ætius*, prefect of *Gaul*, during his third consulship (A.D. 446), but that general was too much occupied with other wars to attend to their supplications.\*

The *Britons*, however, by their own efforts, obtained some advantages over their invaders; and this success, combined with their poverty, procured for them an interval of repose. They were not without kings or chiefs, and had they united in a body, they might have banished the enemy from their borders. Their hardships now taught them courage, as appears from their long and arduous contests with the *Saxons*, who are described as one of the bravest nations presented to us in the whole compass of ancient history. Strength of body, patience in warlike labours, a ferocious courage, and a formidable activity, are the qualities by which they have been commemo-

\* Gildas de Excid. Brit. Bede Hist. Eccles., lib. i., c. 12, 13, 14. Ricardi Corin. de situ Brit. lib. ii. c. 1. Gibbon and Turner, setting aside the authority of the writers here quoted, have given a very different history of the state of *independent* Britain, from A.D. 410 to the arrival of the Saxons in 449. They found their history of this period on a passage in Zozimus, the substance of which is inserted above : and because Gildas has painted the distresses of his countrymen in too strong colours, and has mistaken the *repairing* of the Roman walls for the *building* of them, in which he has been followed by Bede, and by Richard of Cirencester; they have presumed to reject his narrative of the miseries of the Britons, and their application to the Romans, as *fabulous*. But it is not usual for men to insert fables to the discredit of their country; and Gildas lived so near the times of which he writes, that some, who were alive in his early youth, might communicate some of the principal facts which he records from their own knowledge. Besides, if he was so grossly ignorant as these learned authors represent him, and if Britain were so long separated from the Roman empire, how could he know that *Ætius* was thrice consul, or even that such a man as *Ætius* existed?

rated.\* Such is the character given of that people who were to have the dominion of *Britain*, and to give laws and manners to a degenerate race, a people depressed into pusillanimity, and whose imbecility was such, from continued oppression, that they could not defend themselves without the intervention of a foreign aid. Accustomed to a predatory and piratical life, the *Saxons* braved every element; neither the stormy ocean of the *Germans*, nor the dangerous shores of *Britain*, could depress their ardour for plunder and conquest. The frowning clouds of winter darting the lightning's flash amidst the howling of the midnight storm, sheltered their designs from the view of an unsuspecting foe. But while we display a gleam of the brightest part of their character, we must not overlook one of the most horrible traits which can degrade the reputation of a people—a crime that casts the most odious shade over every minor virtue—that of sacrificing the whole or a part of the unfortunate captives, who fell a prey to their vindictive rage. Had their objects been merely confined to the acquisition of territory, or amassing plunder from their fellow-creatures, we should only have seen in them what we behold in conquerors in general: but when we are informed that they dragged off the inoffensive part of the inhabitants into bondage, and decimated their captives to be sacrificed as victims to an abominable deity of disgusting attributes,† our admiration must sink into abhorrence.

\* Turner's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 71.

† Turner's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i., p. 73, 76.

The *Saxons* began to make their piratical descents on the *British* coasts so early as the latter part of the third century; for we find that *Carausius* distinguished himself by his naval victories over the fleets of these barbarians;\* and in the early part of the reign of *Constantine the Great*, a new officer was appointed in *Britain*, denominated the *Count of the Saxon-shore*; by which name, on account of the frequent descents of the *Saxons*, the shore of *Britain* on the east and south, was then designated. But the year 449 is the memorable æra of the introduction of the *Saxons* into *Britain*, under *Hengist* and *Horsa*.

LANCASTER was one of the last stations the *Romans* abandoned, on their withdrawing from *Britain*, in the year of our Lord 446, five hundred and one years after their first descent upon the island, and three hundred and sixty-seven after their first entrance into *Lancashire*.†

So fair a country as *Britain*, suddenly abandoned by its *Roman* conquerors, and possessed by a people without union in the governments, and without reliance upon themselves, naturally became a prize for foreign competition: and the struggles for independence were rather the transient and convulsive efforts of despair, than the dauntless energies of patriotic confidence.

The ships, which transported the legionaries of *Rome* from the shores of *Britain*, had scarcely weighed anchor, when the invading hordes of the *Scots* and *Picts* dislodged the *British* troops from

\* Eutropius, lib. ix.

† Rauthmell's Overborough. Whitaker's Manchester. Clark, p. 11.

their fortresses, and, forcing a passage through the *Roman* wall, penetrated into the counties of *Cumberland* and LANCASTER, and even to the gates of *York*, from whence they menaced the other parts of the island.\*

They sacked and burnt all the towns in the north of *England*.†

Not only during the *Roman*, but also under the *Anglo-Saxon* dynasty, LANCASTER was certainly a fortress of considerable consequence, for it appears to have been the grand barrier and obstacle to the northern *Picts* or *Scots*, who, having eluded or conquered the intermediate garrisons between their southern boundaries and this place, generally encountered a stubborn resistance and repulse here. This greatly exasperated the marauding borderers, who, immediately after the *Romans* left the island, attacked the town and levelled its fortifications. Soon after the arrival of the *Saxons*, and the establishment of the *Northumbrian* kingdom, the commanding site of this ruined town attracted the new settlers, who appear to have restored some of the dwellings, and to have re-edified parts of the castle.‡

The state of the country at that time, as described by one of the earliest *British* historians, *Gildas*, serves to shew that considerable progress had been made in the arts, in commerce, and in agriculture; and that the people no longer painted their bodies, and depended for their food on the precarious resources of the chase. "The island

\* Baines, vol. i., p. 25.

† Clark, p. 11.

‡ Beauties of England and Wales, vol. ix., p. 55.

of *Britain*," says this historian, "placed in the balance of the divine poising hand, which weigheth the whole world, at almost the uttermost bounds of the earth towards the south-west, extending itself from the south-west out towards the north pole, eight-hundred miles in length and two hundred in breadth, embraced by the embowed bosoms of the ocean, with whose most spacious, and on every side impassable enclosure, she is strongly defended, enriched with the mouths of noble floods by which outlandish commodities have, in times past, been transported into the same, besides other rivers of lesser account; strengthened with eight and twenty cities, and some other castles, not meanly fenced with fortresses of walls, embattled towers, gates, and buildings, (whose roofs, being raised aloft with threatening hugeness, were mighty in the aspiring tops compacted,) adorned with her large spreading fields, pleasantly seated hills, even framed for good husbandry, which ever mastereth the ground, and mountains most convenient for the changeable pastures of cattle; watered with clear fountains and sundry brooks, beating on the snow white sands, together with silver streams gliding forth with soft-sounding noise, and leaving a pledge of sweet savours on bordering banks, and lakes gushing out abundantly in cold-running streams."\*

This description of the wealth of *Britain*, and of its scenery, drawn near thirteen hundred years ago, was doubtless as applicable to the county of LANCASTER, as to other parts of the island, at the

† Epist. of Gildas, cap. i.



time of the departure of the *Romans*. "After this," continues our author, "*Britain* being now despoiled of all armed soldiers, and of her own brave and valorous youth, (who quitted the island along with the *Romans*, never returning to their homes,) and absolutely ignorant of all practice of war, was trampled many years under the feet of two very fierce outlandish nations—the *Scots* and *Picts*. Upon whose invasion, and most terrible oppression, she sent ambassadors, furnished with letters, to *Rome*, humbly beseeching, with piteous prayers, the hosts of soldiers to redress her wrongs, and vowing with the whole power of her mind, her everlasting subjection to the *Roman* empire, if they would allow their soldiers to return, and to chase away their foes. These letters were indited to this purpose:—‘*The Lamentations of the Britons unto Agitius*, thrice consul. The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians. Thus, of two kinds of death, one or the other must be our choice, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the sword.’ In this deplorable condition, no relief could be afforded by the *Romans*; the *Goths* were at their own gates; and to aggravate the miseries of the *Britons*, a dreadful famine raged in the ravished country, which obliged many of them to yield their necks to the yoke of the invaders for a little food; and those who had too much constancy to submit to this humiliation were constrained to seek refuge in the mountains, or to conceal themselves in caves and thickets.”\*

\* Epistles of Gildas, cap. xvii.

Repulsed by the *Roman* government, and without confidence in their own strength, the *Britons* sought assistance from the *Saxons*, a nation of warriors and pirates. The military renown of these people pointed them out as the most efficient auxiliaries, while their ambition and their avarice made them in reality the most dangerous allies. To avert a present danger, ambassadors were sent to the heads of their government, and, an audience having been obtained, they spake as follows:—  
“Most noble *Saxons*—The poor and distressed *Brets* (*Britons*), out-worn and exhausted by the incursions of their enemies, hearing the fame of those victories which you have most gallantly obtained, have sent us supplicants unto you, craving that you would not deny us your help and succour. A large and spacious land we have, plentiful and abundant in all things, which we yield wholly to your command. Hitherto we have lived freely under the patronage and protection of the *Romans*; next unto them we know not any more powerful than yourselves, and therefore we seek for a refuge under the wings of your valour. So that we may, by your puissance, be superior to our enemies; and whatsoever service you shall impose upon us, that we will willingly afford.”\*

To this urgent invitation the peers and the governors of the *Saxons* replied:—“Know ye, that the *Saxons* will be fast friends to the *Britons*, and ready at all times to assist them in their necessity for a suitable return; with joy, therefore, embark

\* Witichindus.

again for your country, and make your countrymen glad with these good tidings.\*

The first *Saxon* expedition to *England*, which consisted of a thousand soldiers, embarked in three vessels, called *Cyulæ*, or *Kules*,† composed of hides,‡ under the command of *Hengist* and *Horsa*,§ the latter serving under the former, and both being in the fourth generation from *Woden*, one of the principal *Saxon* gods. On their arrival

\* Under the general term of Saxons, were included the various tribes of Jutes, Angles, and Saxons; who were settled on the shores of the German Ocean, and extended from the Eyder to the Rhine.

Etymologists vary in their derivation of the word, *Saxon*. Some suppose it to be derived from *Seax* or *Sachs*, a shortsword, with which the warlike natives of the shores of the Baltic, the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, are supposed, but on somewhat doubtful authority, to have been generally armed; Others, again, from the word *Saxum*, a rock, emblematic of unfeeling ferocity; *Sassen*, a settled people; *S-uess-on*, or *Saxon*, *Celtic* for the waters of the river, have been given by others as the origin of the word. But the more probable opinion appears to be that the Saxons are the *Sakai-Suna*, or descendants of the *Sakai* or *Sacæ*, a tribe of *Scythians*, who are mentioned by ancient writers as making their way towards Europe from the East, so early as the age of *Cyrus*. *Pliny* tells us of a branch of the *Sacæ*, who called themselves *Sacassani*; and *Ptolemy* designates another branch by the name *Saxones* which seems to be merely another form of the same word.—*Baines*, i., p. 27. *Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. p. 22. 23. *Pictorial History of England*, vol. i., p. 138.

† *Geoffrey of Monmouth* says that these three ships full of armed men, happened to come to Kent by chance, and that the generals *Hengist* and *Horsa* being brought before *Vortigern*, he retained them and their troops in his service.—*Lib. vi.*, cap. 10.

They are called by the historians in Latin *Ciculæ*, in Danish *Iols*, in English *Keels*. *Camden* says [p. cxii.] that *Kiula* was a general name for their ships, "*Cyulis, nostrâ linguâ longis navibus.*"—*Gildas*, p. 7. *Malm.* p. 8. *Bede*, *Lib. i.*, cap. 15. *Ce*, *ci*, in *Saxon* are pronounced *ke*, *ki*.

‡ *Nennius*, cap. xxviii.

§ *Hengist* signifies a stone horse, and *Horsa*, a horse. It was usual with the Saxons to give their children the names of animals. Hence among us at this day, we have the names, *Lamb*, *Bear*, *Fox*, *Buck*, *Cat*, &c. The Romans had a similar custom, witness *Catullus*, *Aper*, &c.

in *England*, they were directed by *Vortigern*, the *British* king, to march against the enemy, then spread over the greatest part of the country of the *Brigantes*; and on their arrival in the neighbourhood of *York*, a bloody engagement took place, by which the *Picts* and *Scots* were driven out of *Lancashire* and *Yorkshire*, and compelled to take refuge within their own borders. The *Saxon* generals, being disinclined to finish the campaign by a single battle, neglected to follow up this victory, and their troops remained in *York* and in *Manchester*, to recover from the fatigues of their journey, and to recruit their numbers with fresh levies. Great rejoicings took place in *Britain* at the expulsion of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and the *Saxons* were every where hailed as deliverers. Having possession of *Mancunium* (*Manchester*) and *Eboracum* (*York*), the *Saxons* sent for a further supply of troops from *Germany*, which speedily arrived in seventeen *Cyulæ*,\* and were encamped in the Isle of *Thanet*. This measure naturally increased the suspicion of the *Britons*, and they expressed their displeasure, by refusing to provide for the fresh levies. A proclamation, commanding them to quit the country, immediately followed, at which *Hengist* took deadly offence; and the *Saxons*, who had come to expel invaders, now assumed themselves the character of open enemies. Further reinforcements, under the command of *Octa*, the son of *Hengist*, and *Ebissa*, the son of *Octa*, soon

† These war-ships, in the fifth century, were long, strong, lofty and capable of containing each a considerable number of men, with provisions and other stores.—*Pictorial History of England*, Vol. i., p. 140.

after arrived, and marched to the north, spreading themselves over the *Brigantian* districts, which were soon to assume another name. The demands of the *Saxons* rose with the concessions of the *Britons*; and it at length became clear, that nothing short of the full possession of the island would allay the cravings of their ambition and cupidity.

Disgusted with the blindness and effeminacy of *Vortigern*, his people drove him from his throne, and *Vortimer*, his son, reigned in his stead. After several battles between the *Britons* and *Saxons*, fought with various success, in one of which *Vortimer* fell, *Vortigern* again ascended the throne, and *Hengist* demanded a conference between the *Saxon* chiefs and the *British* nobility, to arrange terms, as was alleged, for the *Saxons'* quitting the kingdom. This meeting took place on the plain of *Ambrij*, now called *Salisbury Plain*. The unsuspecting *Britons* came unarmed, but the perfidious *Germans* had each a short *skeine* concealed under his cassock. After the conference, the horns of festivity went round, till the spirits of the assembly, had become exhilarated, when, at the terrible exclamation of "*Nimed eure Seaxes*," "unsheath your swords," out rushed the *Saxon* weapons; the unarmed *Britons* fell before the perfidious assassins, and three hundred of the bravest chiefs, and the most elevated men of the country perished on the spot.† Well may the venerable *Gildas* speak of the men who could perpetrate so horrible an

† Nennius, c. xlviii.

atrocities as "*ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis Saxones*  
"*Deo hominibusque invisi.*"\*

*Hengist* now possessed himself of the southern part of the island, which he erected into a principality, under the designation of the kingdom of *Kent*, while *Octa* and *Ebissa* remained settled in *Northumbria*. The fortunes of the *Britons* were partially retrieved by *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a *Briton* of *Roman* extraction. Under his direction the military spirit of his countrymen was roused into action, and after marching from *Totness* at the head of a formidable force, accompanied by *Uter*, his brother, surnamed *Pendragon*, he arrived before the gates of *York*, when he summoned *Octa* to surrender. A council of war being called, at which the question to be discussed was, whether the *Saxon* garrison should stand a siege? it was determined to surrender at discretion, and to cast themselves upon the clemency of the *Britons*. This determination having been formed, *Octa*, accompanied by his principal captains, each car-

\* Epistles of Gildas, c. xxiii

This story has been treated as a fiction, but an ingenious and accomplished writer has argued ably and powerfully in support of the truth of this ancient tradition. "The transaction," he observes, "certainly occurred. It has been unjustly brought into doubt. The memory of it is generally diffused among the British: it is detailed in their Bruts; it is referred to in their Triads as a notorious event; and it is alluded to by their bards, in language of dark and mysterious allusion, which proves its reality better than the direct narratives do."—*Britannia after the Romans*, p. 46.

This writer, however, considers *Hengist* and his *Saxons* to have been the parties plotted against, and, in what they did, to have acted only on the defensive. The bloody congress appears to have met at *Stonehenge*, on a *May day*. In the end, *Eric*, the son of *Hengist*, remained in possession of all *Kent*, and became the founder of the *Kentish*, or first *Saxon* kingdom in our island.

rying a chain in his hand, with dust upon his head, presented himself to *Ambrosius*, with this address:—"My Gods are conquered, and I doubt not but the sovereign power is in your God, who has compelled so many noble persons to come before you in this suppliant manner; be pleased, therefore, to accept of us and this chain; if you do not think us fit for your clemency, we here present ourselves ready to be fettered, and are willing to undergo any punishment you shall think us worthy of." Moved by this humiliating appeal, *Ambrosius* granted a free pardon to the invaders, and, instead of shipping them out of the country, he assigned to them a district on the borders of *Scotland*. *Ebissa*, who had probably occupied *Manchester* while *Octa* was stationed at *York*, encouraged by the success of his kinsman's appeal to the conqueror's clemency, came and surrendered himself in the same manner, and met with a similar reception.

On the death of *Ambrosius*, who was succeeded by *Uter the Pendragon*, *Octa* and *Ebissa* revolted, and issued from their northern retreat, by the route of *Bremetonacæ* (Overborough) and *Coccium* (Blackrode), both which places they took, as well as *Mancunium* (Manchester) and *Veratinum* (Warrington). On their arrival before *Eboracum* (York), an obstinate battle took place under the walls of that city, which ended in the defeat and capture of the two ingrates.\*

The son and successor of *Uter*, born of Lady *Igren*, Duchess of *Cornwall*, was the renowned

\* Geoff. of Mon., Polichron, &c.

King *Arthur*. Trained to arms by *Ambrosius*, under whose commission, he for some time fought,\* and animated by the wrongs of the *Britons*, over whom he was appointed to reign, he became himself the leader of their wars, and in all of them he came off conqueror. He is said to have been engaged in no less than twelve battles; the first of which was fought at the mouth of the river called the *Glem*; the four following upon another river called the *Douglas*; the sixth on a stream which bears the name of *Bassas*; the seventh in the wood of *Celidon*, that is, in *Cattoit Celidon*; the eighth at *Castle Gunnion*; the ninth at the city of *Legion*; the tenth on the banks of the river *Ribroit*; the eleventh on the hill *Agned Cathre-gonion*; and the twelfth at *Mount Bladon*.†

The history of this renowned prince, if indeed such a person ever existed, is mixed up with so much fable or romance, as to render it extremely difficult to separate truth from fiction. It has been remarked that the writer of the *Saxon Chronicle*, who “does not suppress the names of islanders with whom the *Saxons* had to deal, mentions those of *Vortigern*, *Natanleod*, *Aidan*, *Brochvael*, *Geraint*, *Constantine* of *Scots*, and *Cadwallon*. Its author, however, betrays no knowledge of *Arthur’s* existence. The venerable *Beda* either never heard of it or despised it as a fable. Nor is it mentioned either by *Florence* of *Worcester*, or by *Gildas*.”‡

\* Malmesbury, fo. 4.

† *Historia Britonum*, auctore Nennio, cap. lxxv. lxxvi.

‡ *Britannia* after the Romans, pp. 70—141.



*Milton* speaks of his history as—

“What resounds  
In fable or romance of Uther’s son.”

There appear to be the strongest reasons for suspecting that he was not a *real*, but only a *mythological* personage; the chief divinity of that system of revived *Druidism* which appears to have arisen in the unconquered parts of the west of *Britain* after the departure of the *Romans*; the name being often used, in the poetry of the bards, as the hieroglyphical representative of the system. Those, however, who wish to know what can be said in defence of the historic reality of *Arthur*, may consult *Turner’s “Anglo-Saxons.”*\*

The *Saxon* conquest gradually advanced, till all *England* was subdued, and erected into seven sovereign states, under the name of the *Heptarchy*. The propriety of this appellation has been disputed, and the term *Octarchy* adopted in its stead. The difference is capable of an easy explanation. *Northumbria* being considered as *one* kingdom by the advocates of the *Heptarchy*, and *two* (that is, *Deira* and *Bernicia*) by the supporters of the *Octarchical* division. The seven kingdoms were *Sussex*, *Kent*, *Wessex*, *East Anglia*, *Essex*, *Mercia*, and *Northumbria*. This last kingdom, which alone concerns the subject of this history, was occasionally divided into two, under the names of *Deira* and *Bernicia*; but in its integrity, it may be exhibited thus, with the succession of its *Saxon* sovereign princes:—

\* Vol. i. pp. 268—283.

*Northumberland* consisted of the counties of

*Lancashire,  
Yorkshire,*

*Durham,  
Westmoreland,*

*Cumberland,  
Northumberland.*

And its kings were

1 {	<i>Ella.</i>	5 <i>Theodrick.</i>	11 <i>Alkfryd.</i>	17 <i>Oswalph.</i>
	<i>Ida.</i>	6 <i>Ethelrick.</i>	12 <i>Oswed.</i>	18 <i>Edinwald.</i>
2 {	<i>Adda.</i>	7 <i>Ethelfrid.</i>	13 <i>Kenred.</i>	19 <i>Ehured.</i>
	<i>Elappea.</i>	8 <i>Edwin.</i>	14 <i>Oswick.</i>	20 <i>Ethelred.</i>
3	<i>Theodwald.</i>	9 <i>Oswald.</i>	15 <i>Ceolulph.</i>	21 <i>Alfwald.</i>
4	<i>Fretnuise.</i>	10 <i>Egfrid.</i>	16 <i>Egbert.</i>	22 <i>Oswed.</i>

This kingdom existed 379 years, dating its commencement from A.D. 547, and its desolation A.D. 926. During the *Roman* period, the largest portion of this county took its name from the *Brigantes*; but the *Saxons*, from its local situation to the north of the *Humber*, changed its designation to *Northan-Humber-Londe*, or *Northumberland*. It has been conjectured that *Mercia*, included *Deira*, or that the country between the *Mersey* and the *Ribble* was within the *Mercian* territory. But the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the more generally recognized limits: viz. that the *Humber* and the *Mersey* to the south, and the *Eden* and the *Tyne* to the north, formed the *Northumbrian* boundary: and that when this kingdom was divided, the kingdom of *Deira* consisted of the counties of *LANCASTER*, *York*, *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and *Durham*, precisely the ancient *Brigantine* limits, while *Bernicia* comprehended *Northumberland*, and the south of *Scotland*, between the *Tweed* and the *Frith of Forth*.\*

About the year 547, *Ida*, at the head of a formidable host of *Angles*, landed at *Flamborough*†

\* Baines, vol. i., p. 34, 35.

† Anciently called *Flemisburgh*, which is the name of a city in that part of Denmark from which the *Angles* emigrated.—*Sammes' Brit. Antiq.*, p. 533.

*Head*, and leaving a large lapse on the coast between him and the East *Saxons*, proceeded to settle between the *Tees* and the *Tyne*, a wild country which now includes the county of *Durham*, but which was then abandoned to the beasts of the forest.

He extended his conquests to the north, and having subdued the county now called *Northumberland*, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and the south-east part of *Scotland*, assumed the title of the king of *Bernicia*. His capital was *Bebbanburgh* (now *Bamburgh*), so named in honour of his queen, *Bebba*.\* He appears to have been accompanied in his invasion by twelve of his sons, the eldest of whom succeeded him.†

*Ælla*, another *Saxon* prince, who must be carefully distinguished from one of that name who invaded the *Sussex* coast, A.D. 477, about the same time conquered *Lancashire*, and the greatest part of *Yorkshire*, and received the appellation of king of *Deira*.‡ The founder of this kingdom was a chieftain allied with *Ida*, but separating from his son *Adda*, established this kingdom, A.D. 559, and reigned about thirty years.§ The river *Tees* was the boundary between these two kingdoms;

\* Bede, lib. iii., c. 6.

† Turner, vol. i., p. 299—316.

‡ The history of the erection of this kingdom is somewhat obscure. Bede intimates (Lib. ii., c. i.) that it was peopled by Angles, and that their king was called *Ella*, and the *Saxon* chronicle states that this *Ella*, who was the son of *Iffi*, and like the other *Saxon* kings, a descendant of *Woden*, began his reign in A.D. 560, and reigned thirty years. Yet it would appear, from the same chronicle, that he reigned only twenty-eight years. The names *Bernicia* and *Deira* are said to have belonged to these districts previous to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons.—*Turner's History*, vol. i., p. 174.

§ Turner, vol. i., p. 317.

*Bernicia* being situated on the north, and *Deira* on the south.

For some years, the people of *Lancashire*, with the rest of their fellow-subjects of the kingdom of *Deira*, had been in a state of constant hostility with their ancient allies and neighbours, the people of *Bernicia*: but by the mild and enlightened rule of *Oswald*, the differences were reconciled, and they were united under one sceptre, about the year 617, and thenceforward were called *Northumbrians*, comprehending *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *Lancashire*.

By other accounts, it appears that while *Ella* reigned in *Deira*, several sons of *Ida* successively occupied the throne of *Bernicia*, till *Ethelric*, the last of them, upon the death of *Ella*, in A.D. 588, assumed the sovereignty of *Deira* also, which at his death he left to his son *Ethelfrid*, to the exclusion of *Edwin*, son of *Ella*.<sup>\*</sup> These accounts agree with the statement of *Bede*, that *Edwin* was the true heir to the kingdom of *Deira*, and *Ethelfrid* to that of *Bernicia*. This *Ethelfrid*, who married *Acca*, the daughter of *Ella*, was for several years king of all *Northumbria*; yet his dominions were more extensive than populous. The north of *England* was long in recovering from the devastations of the *Picts*; for *John* of *Tynemouth* relates, that in the early periods of the *Saxon* kingdoms, the whole country between the *Tyne* and *Tees*, was one vast desert, the habitation of wild beasts.<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Ridpath's History, p. 16.

<sup>†</sup> See Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii., p. 662, quarto edition.

It is probable that our mountainous district was at that time equally wild and desolate. It was owing to the minority of *Edwin* that the king of *Bernicia* took possession of *Deira*; and, perhaps, the government of the kingdom was administered for some time in *Edwin's* name. At the death of his father *Ella*, he could not be more than two or three years old; at least if *Bede* be correct in stating that he was only forty-seven years of age when he was slain, in A.D. 633. Upon the accession of *Ethelfrid*, A.D. 593, the life of the young prince being in danger from his machinations, he fled, or rather, was conveyed by his friends, to some safe retreat. For a time, he found an asylum in the dominions of *Cadvan*, one of the *British* princes, by whom he was educated;\* he afterwards enjoyed the protection of *Ceorl*, king of *Mercia*, who gave him his daughter *Quenburga* in marriage, by whom he had two sons;† and at last he took refuge at the court of *Redwald*, king of the *East Angles*, who had succeeded to the dignity of *Bretwalda*,‡ and is said to have destroyed more *Britons* than all the other *Saxon* kings. Here the enmity of *Ethelfrid* had nearly proved fatal to him. *Redwald*, dreading the power of *Ethelfrid*, and moved by his promises, was on the point of delivering up his guest; but, prompted by his noble-minded queen, he adopted the more honourable resolution of reinstating him in the throne

\* *Turner's Hist.*, vol. i., p. 272.

† *Bede*, lib. ii. c. 14.

‡ *Bret-walda*, or *Britwalda*, as the ascendant monarch was called, is a Saxon term, which signifies the wielder, or dominator, or ruler of *Brit* (Britain). According to *Bede* and the *Saxon chronicle*, seven or eight of the *Saxon* princes, in irregular succession, bore this proud title.

of his father. Marching suddenly, with a strong force against *Ethelfrid*, he defeated and slew him on the banks of the *Idle*, though with the loss of his own son, *Reiner*; and in consequence of this victory, which was gained A. D. 617, *Edwin* ascended the throne of *Northumbria*: the sons of *Ethelfrid* fled into *Scotland*.

*Edwin*, was so successful in his wars and politics that he raised *Northumbria* to a superiority over all the *Saxon* kingdoms, thus transferring the ascendancy from the south to the north of the island. "In this time," says one of the old chroniclers, "was so great peace in the kingdom of *Edwin*, that a woman might have gone from one town to another without grief or noyaunce [molestation]: and for the refreshing of way-goers this *Edwin* ordained, at clear wells, cups or dishes of brass or iron to be fastened to posts standing by the said wells' sides: and no man was so hardy as to take away those cups, he kept so good justice"!\* *Edwin* added the isles of *Man* and *Anglesey* to his *Northumbrian* dominions, and was so powerful that all the *Saxon* kings acknowledged his authority, and paid him a kind of tribute. According to some accounts, he also maintained a supremacy over the *Scots* and *Picts*. In writing to him, in the year 625, the Pope styles him "*Rex Anglorum*" (king of the *Angles*, or *English*).

About the year 633, *Penda*, the *Saxon* prince of *Mercia*, rebelled against his authority, and, forming an alliance with *Cadwalla*, or *Cadwallader*, the king of *North Wales*, he fought a great battle

\* Fabyan.

at *Hatfield*, or *Heathfield*, near the river *Trent*, in which *Edwin*, his son *Osfrid*, and the greater part of his army were defeated and slain.

In the year 634, *Oswald*, the nephew of *Edwin*, raised his banner in *Northumbria*, when *Cadwallader*, after many successes, seemed to despise precaution. He and his *Welsh* were surprised near *Hexham*, and totally defeated by inferior numbers. *Oswald* was slain in battle, A.D. 642, like his uncle *Edwin*, and by the same enemy, *Penda*, king of *Mercia*. But the *Northumbrians* once more rallied round the beloved *Edwin*, and enabled *Oswald's* brother, named *Oswy*, or *Oswio*, whose wife was the daughter of the great *Edwin*, to ascend the throne of his father-in-law. In 651, the kingdom of *Northumbria*, however, was re-divided into its two ancient independent states; and whilst *Oswy* retained to himself *Bernicia*, the more northern half: *Odel-wald* reigned in *Deira*, or the southern part. This severance was a fatal blow from which *Northumbria* never recovered.

A.D. 633: Upon the death of *Edwin*, *Osríc*, the son of his uncle *Elfric* took possession of the throne of *Deira*; while *Eanfrid*, one of the sons of *Ethelfrid*, returning from *Scotland*, was placed on that of *Bernicia*, but both these princes were slain next year by the fierce *Cadwallon*, and *Northumbria* was wasted more cruelly than before. A temporary deliverer of his country arose in *Oswald*, another son of *Ethelfrid*, and nephew of *Edwin*, by his sister *Acca*. Roused by the sufferings of his oppressed country, and the recent murder

of his brother *Eanfrid*\* by the ruffian hands of *Cadwallon*, he nobly resolved to arrest the progress of the destroyer. *Oswald*, with a small but gallant band, attacked the very superior forces of the *British* king, on the banks of the *Denisburne*, near *Hexham*, and completely overthrew them. The death of *Cadwallon* was followed by the decline of the power of the *Cambro-Britons* in *Northumbria*, which was again united under one kingdom. *Oswald*, together with the flower of his army, was defeated and slain† in an engagement with *Penda*, king of *Mercia*, at *Maserfield*, in *Shropshire*, since called *Oswald's tree*, and by abbreviation, *Oswestry*. The conquering army ravaged the kingdom of *Northumbria*, with unrelenting fury; but the barbarous *Penda* unsuspectingly procured his own defeat. He failed in an attempt to carry the city of *Bebbanburgh* by storm, and in order to ensure success at the second attack, he caused an immense pile of wood to be raised near the most accessible part of the walls, intending, by this means, to set the city in flames when the wind should prove most favourable for that purpose, and in the midst of the conflagration, to rush, with all his forces, upon the place; but the hand of *Providence* had determined against him, a fallacious breeze arose, the destructive torch was applied to the mighty pile, his soldiers flew to the

\* *Eanfrid* went to *Cadwallon*, with twelve soldiers only, to sue for peace; but the barbarous monster, regardless of the tame purpose of his visit, slew the unsuspecting *Eanfrid*, without giving him an audience.

† The inhuman *Penda* mangled the dead body of the king, and caused the reeking fragments to be placed, yet streaming with blood, upon the points of stakes, as trophies of his victory.



assault, and just when the fiery columns were over-topping the walls, the fickle wind changed in a minute to the opposite point; the assailants were enveloped in an ocean of smoke and flames; numbers were severely scorched, and the rest fled in the utmost consternation. The *Northumbrians* viewed this deliverance as an interposition of heaven.\*

After the death of *Oswald*, the kingdom of *Northumbria* was again divided into two. *Oswy*, his brother, taking possession of *Bernicia*, while *Oswin* the son of *Osric*, *Edwin's* cousin, reigned in *Deira*. *Oswin* is represented as being a most amiable prince, and the *Deirans* were blessed with his government for seven years. At the close of that period he was involved in a war with the ambitious *Oswy*, who sought to annex *Deira* to his own dominions. The hostile armies approached each other, at a place not far from *Catterick* bridge, when *Oswin*, perceiving the inferiority of his force humanely resolved to prevent the effusion of blood, by dismissing his army and retiring into a place of concealment until better times. He took refuge in the house of an earl *Hunwald*, whom he regarded as his most trusty friend; but *Hunwald* had the baseness to betray him to *Oswy*, by whose orders he was cruelly murdered at *Yedingham*, where under the vain idea of atoning for his crime, *Oswy* afterwards erected a monastery. The *Deirans* detesting his crime made

\* Bede, lib. iii., c. 16. It is not certain, however, whether this event took place immediately after the death of *Oswald*, or during some other of Penda's inroads into Northumberland.

*Ethelwald*, the son of *Oswald*, their king. To confirm himself in the possession of his throne against the attempts of *Oswy*, *Ethelwald* formed an alliance with *Penda* king of *Mercia*, who having further strengthened himself by an alliance with *Ethelhere* king of the *East Angles*, though now eighty years of age, undertook an expedition for the overthrow of *Oswy*. But *Oswy* accompanied by his son *Alchfrid*, with a force said to be only one-thirtieth of the combined armies under the command of *Penda* and his allies, attacked this mighty host, and overthrew them with great slaughter. *Penda* with the flower of his army perished in the engagement, and the flight of his troops was rendered more destructive by an extraordinary overflow of the river *Air*, which devoured more than the sword. The place in which this battle was fought is called *Winwidfield*, and is supposed to have been situated where the town of *Leeds* now stands. The victory of *Oswy* was chiefly owing to the part which *Ethelwald* acted on the day of battle; for that prince, justly dreading that *Penda* if victorious, would take possession of *Deira* as well as *Bernicia*, withdrew with his forces at the commencement of the action, to await the issue; a circumstance which greatly discouraged the *Mercians*, and contributed much to their defeat. What became of *Ethelwald* after the engagement is not certainly known: but as the monastery of *Streaneshalh*, which *Oswy* founded about two years after the date of this victory, was in *Deira*, and as *Mercia* which lay beyond *Deira* was for some years subject to *Oswy*, it would

seem that *Ethelwald* either resigned his kingdom to *Oswy*, or contented himself with part of it. At any rate we know that in the year 664, when the Synod of *Streaneshalh* was held, *Alchfrid* the son of *Oswy* was his partner in the kingdom of *Northumbria*; and it appears from the part which *Alchfrid* took in procuring a Bishop for *York* immediately after, and in founding the monastery at *Ripon* some years before, that *Deira* was his province, while his father retained possession of *Bernicia*. Yet we have good reason to believe, that *Oswy* during the last two or three years of his life reigned alone, and it is certain that at his death he was not succeeded by *Alchfrid* but by *Ecgrid* another of his sons.\* Historians are not agreed respecting the fate of *Alchfrid*, but it would seem that he died before his father, and that *Ecgrid* another of *Oswy's* sons succeeded to the throne. The name of *Oswy's* eldest son, though very similar to that of the prince who succeeded *Ecgrid* is quite distinct from it. The former name occurs in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* nine times and the latter ten times, and in every instance the distinction is preserved; which is particularly observable in that chapter which contains the life of *Wilfrid*, where both are mentioned.† *Aldfrid* married *Cuthburga*, sister of *Ina* king of *Wessex*, and seems to have had another wife after she deserted him; but the wife of *Alchfrid* was *Cyniburga* daughter of *Penda*, king of *Mercia*, whose son *Peada* married *Alchfleda*, the sister of *Alchfrid*, it is obvious that

\* *Bede*, lib. iv. c. 3, 5.† *Lib.* v. c. 20.

*Eanfleda* could not be the mother of *Alchfrid* and *Alchfleda*, for the latter was married in 653, the eleventh year of *Oswy's* reign, and *Oswy's* marriage with *Eanfleda* did not take place before his accession to the throne.

A.D. 670: *Ecgfrid* succeeded his father, and reigned fifteen years over all *Northumbria*, which henceforth formed but one kingdom. He was an ambitious and restless prince, and his reign was disastrous both to his neighbours and to his own subjects. He vanquished the *Picts* with such dreadful slaughter, that two rivers are said to have been so filled up with the carcasses of the slain, that *Ecgfrid* marched his army over the dead corpses dry-shod.

In 679, *Ecgfrid* invaded *Lincolnshire*, but was repulsed by *Ethelred*, king of *Mercia*,\* to whom that province belonged, in a bloody engagement on the *Trent*, in which *Elfwine*, the brother of *Ecgfrid*, was slain. A.D. 684, he carried desolation through the verdant fields of *Erin*. In the year after his *Irish* expedition, he again invaded the territories of the *Picts*, but being decoyed by this wary people into the strait of *Drumnechtan*, he

\* Under the name of *Myrcna-ric*, Latinised *Mercia*, a branch of the *Angles*, penetrating into the heart of the island, founded a kingdom that extended over all the midland counties, from the Severn to the Humber, and that pressed on the borders of Wales. In this district, however, the population was not destroyed or expelled: the Britons lived mixed up with about an equal number of the Saxons. We are generally told that *Mercia* signifies the *march*, or *frontier*. A signification peculiarly improper for a central country. *Myrcna-ric* in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies the *woodland* kingdom, which agrees very closely with *Coitani*, the Latinised name of the old British inhabitants, signifying woodland men, or *foresters*.—*Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. i., p. 237.

perished with the greatest part of his army. *Ecgrif* dying without issue, his brother *Aldfrid*, who had retired to *Ireland*, was recalled to occupy the vacant throne. At his accession, the limits of *Northumbria* were much contracted, the *Picts* having in consequence of their victory, taken possession of the country between the *Tweed* and the *Forth*, while the *Britons* made some encroachments on the west. *Aldfrid*, however, made no attempt to extend his kingdom to its former boundaries. It is stated in the *Saxon Chronicle*, that *Aldfrid* died 19 kal. January, A.D. 705, and it is generally believed that he was buried in the church of *Little Driffield*, as appears from the following inscription on the south wall of the chancel of that church:—

“Within this chancel lyes the body of *Alfred*, king of *Northumberland*, who departed this life Jan<sup>y</sup>. 19th,\* Anno Domini 705, in the xx<sup>th</sup> year of his reign. ‘Statutum est omnibus semel mori.’”†

Tradition reports that the peaceful reign of the learned *Aldfrid* ended in blood; and that the scene of the conflict in which he received his mortal wound was a hill close by the village of *Ebberston*, on the north side of which are vestiges of a cave, now almost filled up, over which was placed a stone, and afterwards a board, with an inscription to the following purport:—“*Aldfrid*, king of *Northumberland*, was wounded in a bloody

\* The author of this inscription must have been unacquainted with the Roman mode of reckoning the days of the month; for 19th Kalend Janua., 705, is not the 19th Jan., 705, but corresponds with the 14th December, 704.

† It is appointed unto all men once to die. Heb. ix. 28.

battle nigh this place, and was hid in this cave, and from thence he was removed to *Little Driffield*, where he died." But this tradition cannot apply to this *Aldfrid*; for not only does *Bede*, who mentions his death, and who was himself then living, give no hint of his having perished by the sword; but we have the express testimony of *William of Malmesbury*, and of *Eddius*, in his 'Life of *Wilfrid*,' that *Aldfrid* died through the effect of a painful disease, which was regarded as a punishment inflicted by Providence for his severity to that *saint*: and they state that his sister *Ælfeda*, abbess of *Streoneshalh*, who visited him in his sickness, declared in the Council of *Nidd*, that her brother *Aldfrid*, in his last illness, vowed that, if he should recover, he would restore *Wilfrid* to his dignity and possessions.\* If the tradition have any foundation in fact, it must relate to his brother *Alchfrid*, who rebelled against his father, and, most probably, came to an untimely end. This hilly district, so near the limits between *Deira* and *Bernicia*, is very likely to have been the scene of the contest; and it is worthy of remark, that the entrenchments on *Scam-ridge*, near *Ebberston*, have, from time immemorial, been known by the name of *Oswy's Dykes*, probably because *Oswy's* army encamped there, before engaging with the forces of his rebellious son.

Upon the death of *Aldfrid*, who reigned nineteen years, his son *Osred*, a child of about eight years of age succeeded to the crown; but *Eadulph* stepped in between the infant and the tempting prize, and seized it for himself. The young king

\* Wilkins' Concil., vol. i., p. 67—69.

fled, accompanied by *Berectfrid*, his guardian and friend, and took refuge in the strong fortress of *Bebbanburgh*; and the majority of the nation declaring in his favour, the usurper was driven from the throne, and *Osred* reinstated in his dominions. Little is related of him in the history of those times; all that we can find is that he was slain at the lake *Windermere*, in the nineteenth year of his age, and that *Cenred*, a prince of the blood-royal, ascended the throne, which he only held two years, and was then removed to his last mansion—the grave, A.D. 718. To him succeeded *Osríc*, the second son of *Aldfrid*, who died in the year 729, and had for his successor, *Ceolwulf*, the brother of *Cenred*, who, in 737, exchanged the blood-stained diadem for the religious tonsure. It was to this prince that the venerable *Bede* inscribed his Ecclesiastical History, which was completed about the second year of *Ceolwulf's* reign.\*

*Eadbert*, the next possessor of the crown, was a prince of eminent talents and great military reputation: but he also resigned his crown, and retired to a convent in *York*, about the year 758.†

A rapid alternation of usurpers—kings, rebels, murderers, and robbers—now wasted the agitated regions of *Northumbria*, without intermission. *Osulph* assumed the crown, which his father had resigned, but the year of his accession proved also that of his dissolution—being slain by the hands of his own treacherous domestics. *Ethelwold*,

\* The Saxon Chronicle places the accession of *Ceolwulf* A.D. 731, and his resignation in 739.

† Turner's Hist., vol. i., p. 326. Continuation of the Epitome of Bede. Simeon Dun., c. 18.

surnamed *Moll*, upon the death of *Osulph*, immediately took possession of the throne, but his claims appear to have been those of usurpation. A prince of the name of *Oswin* opposed him, as the lawful heir; a desperate battle between the parties ensued at *Eldun*, near *Melrose*, in *Scotland*, which is said to have lasted three days, and in which *Oswin* was slain and his army vanquished. *Ethelwold*, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, being obliged to resign the crown into the hands of *Alered*, or *Alcred*, the son of *Osulph*,\* who continued to hold it until the year 774. Deserted by his family and nobles, in the time of Easter-festival, and obliged to seek his safety by a precipitate flight from *York*, he first retired to *Bamburgh*, and thence, accompanied by a small party, to *Cynoth*, the *Pictish* king.

*Ethelred*, the son of *Moll*, who had been the cause of *Alered's* downfall, was placed on the throne. In the third year of his reign, he basely procured the death of two of his generals, by the instrumentality of two others, and in the very next year, those men who had been the evil actors of this tragic scene, turned their hands against himself, and, with their forces, expelled him the kingdom. *Alfwold*, the son of *Osulph*, succeeded him as legitimate heir to the crown. He was highly esteemed for his rectitude and piety, but fell a victim to treachery in the year 788, by the arts of *Sigan*, one of his nobles. *Osred*, the nephew of *Alfwold*, and son of *Alered*, accepted the crown from the assassins of his uncle; but, in the following

\* Ridpath's History, p. 35.



year, they seized him in his palace, and having shorn him as a monk, forced him into a monastery at *York*. The sanguinary *Ethelred* was recalled from exile to this *Aceldama*. *Osred* made his escape to the *Isle of Man*; but being induced by the oaths and entreaties of part of his former nobles, to leave his retreat, was betrayed into the hands of *Ethelred*, and barbarously murdered at *Aynburg*, in the year 792. *Elf* and *Elwin*, the sons of *Alfwold* were also dragged from their sanctuary at *York*, and slain. In order more firmly to secure his possessions, *Ethelred* contracted a matrimonial alliance with *Elfleda*, the daughter of *Offa*, king of *Mercia*; but all his efforts were fruitless; duke *Wada*, a *Saxon* chief of great power, who resided at *Mulgrave* castle, headed an army of conspirators, fell upon and slew *Ethelred*, A.D. 794.

Such was the anarchy and barbarism which prevailed at this period, that, according to *William* of *Malmesbury*, nobody had the courage to accept the *Northumbrian* crown; its possession appearing, in so many instances, to lead to certain destruction. *Osbold*, however, assumed the throne, reigned twenty-seven days, and was then deposed. He saved his life by escaping to the monastery of *Lindisfarn*, and thence to the *Pictish* court. *Eardulph*, a nobleman who had been left weltering in his blood at the gates of a monastery, by the murderous *Ethelred*, through the care of the inmates, now restored to health, was recalled from their abode to assume the reins of government. In the fourth year of his reign, he was attacked by *Wada* and his confederates, whom he vanquished

in a great battle fought near *Whalley*, in *Lancashire*, and *Wada* was forced to seek shelter at *Mulgrave*, where he died. Still further to secure his throne, *Eardulph* caused *Alchmund*, the son of *Alered*, to be put to death, that the last bud of the ancient *Northumbrian* kings might be totally annihilated. *Eardulf* found a powerful enemy in *Kenulf*, king of *Mercia*, a prince who had protected several of the enemies of the *Northumbrian* kings; war appeared inevitable; an army was raised on each side, but a reconciliation was effected by the interposition of the prelates and nobles of each kingdom. A.D. 806, *Eardulf* was banished the kingdom, and *Alfwold* reigned for two years, when the crown devolved upon *Eanred*, the son of *Eardulf*. In his reign, an attack was aimed at *Northumbria* by *Egbert*, the powerful king of the *West-Saxons*, A.D. 827, but *Eanred* evaded the blow by acknowledging the supremacy of *Egbert*.\* He was succeeded by his son, *Ethelred*, who was slain by *Osbert*, A.D. 850, when this usurper ascended the throne.† Such is the *Northumbrian* history; unparalleled in the history of nations for varied and multiplied atrocities.

A new æra rises before us, but we regret to remark that the prospect is equally dreary to the

\* Mr. Turner, in his very elegant history of the Anglo-Saxons (vol. i., p. 367), has completely refuted the generally received opinion, that *Egbert* was acknowledged king of all England. *Athelstan* was undoubtedly the first monarch that could, with any degree of propriety, assume that title.

† It would appear from *Matthew of Westminster*, that in 844, *Ethelred* was driven from his throne by a faction, and one *Redowald* put in his place; but the latter being slain not long after by a party of *Danes*, who had made a descent on the coast, *Ethelred* was restored.

afflicted inhabitants, and disgraceful to mankind. The *North-men*, or *Danes*, a still more barbarous race, if possible, than even the *Saxon* pirates, suddenly made their appearance to contest the palm of empire with the *Anglo-Saxons* in *Britain*. Before, however, we proceed to the consideration of their history, we may notice a few of the more important *Saxon* remains which are to be found in this immediate neighbourhood.

Dr. *Kuerden*, in his unpublished preface to his "History of *Lancashire*," deposited in the *Chetham* Library, at *Manchester*, says:—

"King *Egbert*, after his uictorious conquests, having reduced the *Saxon* heptarchy into a monarchy, and called it *England*, he diuided his new acquisites into seuerall portions and shares, and for the preseruatiō of a future peace, set ouer each of them a *Comes*, to rule them, whence each portion or bailiwick was styled "comitatus," a scyre, or county, sc. an earldome. So that the kingdome of *Northumbria*, which extended from the riuēr *Humber* and the riuēr *Mersey*, on the south part, to the riuēr *Tweed* upon the north, which was the beginning of *Scotland*:—this region was diuided into diuers schyres or prouinces:—

"1.—The prouince of *York*, upon the east part from the riuēr *Humber* to the riuēr *Tess*. He styled it EVRVCKSHYRE, or *Yorkshire*, in which were twenty-two hundreds or wapentakes.

"2.—And from the *Tess* to the riuēr *Tyne*, the prouince of the bishoprick of *Durham*. This he cald DUROHMSCHIRE.

"3.—And from the riuēr *Tyne* to the riuēr *Tweed*, he cald it NORTH-UMBRIA, or the schyre of *Northumberland*.

"4.—And on the west part, from the riuēr *Solway* to the riuēr *Duden* on the south. This he cald CARLIERSCHIRE, or *Cumberland*.

"5.—And what lay upon the west on *Durham* and *Lancashyre*, he cald APLEBYSCHIRE, or *Westmoreland*.

"6.—And from the riuer *Duden* to the riuer *Mersey*, upon the south, was styled LANCASTERSCHIRE.

"In which schyre or prouince contains within it fve lesser schyres, sc.: *West Derbyscyre*, *Salfordscyre*, *Leylandscyre*, *Blackburnscyre*, *Amunderness*, and the territory of LANCASTER. These are now cald hundreds or wapentakes.

"Ouer euery scyre, as hath bin said, he placed a *comes* to rvlē and gouern it according to the lawes and customes of the country, who, together with the byshop of the diocess, were to instrvct and rvlē the people, the one declaring to them the lawes of God, and the other the lawes of the land; and they had likewise under them a *Heretoge* chosen by the people in a folcmote, who had the power to raise the people, to compell the otherwise disobedient to obedience, or to inflict chastisement for offences by fines or imprisonment.

"The byshop was an assistant to the *comes*, to se the interest of the church not to be diminished, but ordered according to the lawes of God.

"And the *heretogen*, upon all occasions, endowed likewise with power to compell all refractory people to ther obedience to the lawes as justice dictated, as now the uice-comes (sheriff), with his posse comitatus, acts the same.

"The coroner, likewise, is chosen by the people, and assigned 'super visum corporis mortui,' and to giue account to the king of the loss of his subject, and what deodands do accrue to the king thereby."\*

Most of our topographers have attributed the sub-division of *England* into counties, hundreds, &c., to the illustrious *Alfred*; but Mr. *Whitaker* boldly asserts, "they are all *mistaken*." The

\* Kuerden's MS., 4to., fo. 229.

tything, hundred, and county, constituted a part of the original polity which the *Saxons* brought with them from *Germany*; and two of them appear existing in *Britain*, and all three in *France*, even some ages before the time of *Alfred*. The tything and shire are both mentioned in the laws of the *West Saxons* before the close of the seventh century, and during the reign of *Ina*. And the tything, the shire, and the hundred, are noticed in the Capitularies of the *Franks*, before the year 630.\*

It cannot be necessary to prove that the *Saxons* inhabited this part of our island. As in the case of the *Ancient Britons*, we might adduce the names of the various persons and places in this neighbourhood in proof of their residence in this locality. The very name of this town is sufficient indication, LUNE-CEASTRE; as also *Whalley*, *Heysham*, and the terminations *ton*, *thwaite*, *ham*, *low*, *forth*, &c., &c.

It may be expected that some allusion should be made to the *Saxon* remains at *Heysham*† both on account of the singular nature of those remains, and of the endowment connected with *St. Patrick's* Chapel there.

“An high point of rock, weather-beaten by every storm, overlooked almost every creek and corner in the bay of *Morecambe*. In the wretched state of navigation at that period, shipwrecks must have been frequent. Fear and distress are the

\* vol. i., p. 113.

† *Heysham*—*Hesse-ham*.—It seems denominated from *Hesse* or *Hessa*, the first *Saxon*, who took possession of a rock and small track of dry and fertile soil, then nearly, if not altogether, insulated by the sea.—*Whitaker's Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 316.

parents of superstition, and *St. Patrick* was always considered as the protecting saint of navigators in the *Irish Channel*; but his aid was peculiarly invoked for the great Bay, and thenceforth he became—

“The genius of the shore,  
In his large recompense, and would be good  
To all that wander in that perilous flood.”

To come down to plain prose, a chapel was erected and dedicated to that popular saint upon the point of this elevated and far seen rock. Had the supporters of this chapel burnt, on dark and stormy nights, a light upon the rock, instead of a taper upon the altar, they would perhaps have been more rationally employed. The æra of this little, but substantial fabric, is lost in high antiquity; for that a high antiquity in the *Saxon* times may be ascribed to its erection, may be proved by its unusual proportions, great rudeness, diminutive size, and the singular arch of its doorway. It measures within nearly twenty-four feet in length, and only seven and a half in width; the mortar consisting principally of burnt shells, is, from time, become almost as indissoluble as that of a *Roman* fortress. A very narrow single light to the south sheds a kind of darkness visible upon the altar, and the doorway is scarcely wide enough to admit a bulky man. Anxiety, in its flourishing days, to be interred within the sacred precincts of *St. Patrick*, must have been extreme; for, as there was no earth on the summit of the hill to cover a body, several excavations shaped precisely like stone

coffins have been made in the living rock, with grooves for the reception of covers of the same material; above which, mounds of earth, brought from beneath, must have been heaped upon the whole. At a small distance to the south appear two other excavations severally adapted to the body of an infant, and of a child of three or four years old."

"All these, however, are so elaborate, as to have arisen from a very extraordinary degree of devotion; but beneath a perpendicular rock, within a few yards, to the east of *St. Patrick's*, is a small close of deep soil, which, as it has been for centuries the cemetery of the parish church, must, I think, from one discovery to be noticed hereafter, have been also a place of interment during the *Saxon* æra. That *St. Patrick's* Chapel long retained its popularity there can be no doubt. I have heard, and lament that I have not obtained the sight, of a charter, by which a burgage house in LANCASTER was granted as an hospitium\* for the use of the pilgrims resorting to *St. Patrick's* Chapel at *Heysham*, but I could never learn the date. I have no doubt, however, from the respectable quarter whence the information proceeded that it was correct. That this chapel was unnoticed among the dissolved chantries, is with me no argument against its having continued to the dissolution. It seems to have been wholly supported by the oblations of pilgrims, and therefore presented no object to the Commissioners of Survey. This

\* History of Richmondshire. vol. ii. p. 318.

little but popular foundation appears to have been the parent of a parish church at *Heysham*, of which though there is no hint in *Domesday*, yet the "*Ecclesia de Heysham*" is distinctly conveyed but a few years after, with many others to the new Priory at LANCASTER; in the patronage of which and its successor the Nunnery of *Syon*, this church remained till the dissolution of monasteries. The Church of *Heysham* with one third of all the town, was given by *Roger de Poitou* to the Priory of LANCASTER; and in 1301, August 15th, Thomas *Grenewode*, sub-deacon, rector of *Heysham*, acknowledged, in the name of the said church, that it was held of the priory on an annual pension of six shillings and eightpence; and in the name of the said pension he paid to the Prior of LANCASTER, thirteen shillings and fourpence.\* I cannot trace its alienation from the crown, nor the subsequent transfer of the advowson, otherwise than from the catalogue of patrons in the annexed table of rectors:—†

A CLOSE CATALOGUE OF THE RECTORS OF HESSAM.

<i>Temp. Instit.</i>	<i>Rectores Eccles.</i>	<i>Patroni.</i>	<i>Vacat.</i>
19 Dec., 1369	D'nus Robt. Faryngton ..	Rex .....	P' Resig.
29 Mar., 1370	D'nus Roger de Farynton..	Rex.	
10 Mar., 1394	D'nus Robt. Brownflete ..		
5 Apr., 1396	D'nus Thos. Grenewode, Cl.	Rex.	
7 Oct., 1434	D'nus Hen. Heyfield, Diac.	Abbt <sup>a</sup> . and Cont <sup>us</sup> . de Syon.	

\* Register St. Mary's, Lan., MS., fol. 72.

† Extracted from *Torre's Archdeaconry of Richmond*, p. 1787.



RECTORS OF HEYSHAM, *continued.*

FROM THE REGISTRY OF CHESTER.

<i>Date of Institution.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>	<i>Cause of Vacancy.</i>
	Roger Bradshaw		
2 June, 1568	Edward Croft .....	George Croft .....	D. of R. B.
Jan., 1583	William Thorpe .....	Gabriel Croft .....	R. of E. C.
29 Dec. 34 Eliz.	Matthew Kytchin .....		
13 Sep., 1607	Thomas Calvert .....	The Crown, king James,	
18 Aug., 1638	Xtopher Phillipson .....	Ditto.	
14 Sep., 1638	William Ward .....	Xtopher Phillipson .....	D. of T. C.
16 Feb.,	Richard Taylor .....	The Crown.	
24 Aug., 1639	Oliver Calvert .....	Ditto.	
18 Sep., 1639	Jeremiah Clayton .....	Ditto.	
	Henry Ward.		
8 Nov., 1671	John Briggs .....	Thomas Mather, gent.	D. of H. W.
27 June, 1674	Richard Taylor .....	Charles II. ....	By simony.
7 Jan. 1698-9	William Bushell .....	William Warden* ..	D. of R. T.
13 Aug., 1736	Thomas Clarkson .....	Instituted on his own petition.	D. of W. B.
17 June, 1738	James Fenton .....	On his own petition.	D. of T. C.
18 May, 1756	Thomas Clarkson .....	On his own petition.	Res. of J. F.
22 July, 1789	Charles Buck .....	Bp. Chester, by lapse	D. of T. C.
19 Feb., 1791	John Widdett .....	Bp. Chester .....	Res. C. B.
22 Sep., 1794	Thomas Clarkson .....	On his own petition.	Res. J. W.
13 May, 1800	Thomas Clarkson .....	On his own petition.	Cess. of same Thomas Clarkson.
14 Jan., 1813	Thomas Dunham Whitaker	Thos. Clarkson, a minor, with consent of his Guardian, Townley Clarkson.	D. of T. C.
19 Apr., 1819	Thomas Clarkson .....	On his own petition.	Cess. T. D. W.
24 Sep., 1824	Thomas Yates Ridley ....	Jane Clarkson widow of Thos. Clarkson.	D. of T. C.

“ There is a tradition of a more ancient church northward from the existing one, which was removed to the present site, in consequence of its having been threatened by the sea; and this is countenanced by an encroachment made by the tides precisely in the place where it is reported to have stood, by vestiges of old walls at each extremity of that encroachment, by a continuation of the church-yard wall four feet thick extending

\* William Merden, Gent., 1698. Thomas Clarkson, Clerk, 1735 and 1756.—*Lit. Reg.*, p. 1256.

to the sea, and by the discovery of a cross and ancient grave-stone north of the present church. That stone is indeed, as Dr. *Whitaker* remarks,\* "one of the most remarkable remains of Christian antiquity in *Britain*, unquestionably *Saxon*, without inscription and of a very singular design, which it is difficult to describe. The idea, however, which seems to have prevailed in the mind of the sculptor, was to represent the back of some sea monster emerging above the waves; but in the places of a head and tail are the heads of two huge lions, rudely, but strongly and expressively carved; while the sides are much more barbarously covered over with unrelieved outlines of men, dogs, stags, etc.; some of the human figures appearing to kneel and lament. It ought not to be forgotten, that in the place where this was discovered, though all remains of the body had disappeared, an iron spear head was found, greatly corroded. This has now been removed to a situation more immediately under the protection of the rectory."

In another part of the church-yard lies a stone inscribed with a cross, a sword and a harp, the memorial of some ancient minstrel and warrior. Two gravestones, also which have covered the remains of very ancient incumbents, and have been removed from within the altar rails are remarkable for the singular shape of the crosses by which they are distinguished.

The church is small and mean, though formerly dignified by a tower; which was pulled down,

\* *Richmondshire*, vol. ii, p. 318, 319.

according to tradition, and the bells removed to *Hornby*, while the manor was in the family to which that place belonged; a very arbitrary and unwarrantable step. The arch between the nave and south aisle, is plain and massy *Norman*, with rude cabled capitals, which prove that the present fabric is, so far, of high antiquity. It has a south aisle, with angular columns and pointed arches, contemporary with several trefoil windows. But the east window of the choir is very elegantly ramified.\*

On inclosing *Halton* moor, an elegantly chased gilt cup, bearing foliage and the figures of a bull and panther, probably copied from a *Roman* vase, was disinterred. Like the diota of the *Romans*, it had two ears, and was filled with nearly eight hundred silver coins of king *Canute*, among which was a *beah*, or neck-collar, of thin gold, bearing, in high relief, the figure of a lion, and having two perforations for the insertion of the strings by which it was confined to the part. Than the use of this kind of ornament, nothing was more common among the *Anglo-Saxons*, who received it from the *Romans*, to whom it was transmitted from the *Greeks* and other eastern nations. By our *Saxon* ancestors, the bracelet or collar, was conferred as a mark of personal merit, on women distinguished for beauty or virtue, and on men who had displayed valour in the field. They are frequently named among the legacies of the few *Saxon* wills which remain; and in that of *Byrhturic* and his wife *Ælfswyth*, extant in *Hickes*, *Lambarde*, and *Hearne*,

\* Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 316—320.

four of these bracelets or collars are mentioned. In the church-yard stands an ancient *Saxon* cross, mounted upon three steps; it is a square pillar, the sides of which are rudely carved with human figures, a cross, and a horse. On the top is a dial-plate, inscribed "For St. *Wilfride* Church, at *Halton*, 1635.\*

To the ancient worshippers of *Thor* is attributed the erection of the parish church of LANCASTER.†

The lower part of the large square tower, or citadel, on the north side of LANCASTER castle, commonly called the *Lungess* tower, is, by some antiquaries, supposed to be of *Saxon* architecture,‡ as are also the *Dungeon* and *Well* towers: though others doubt whether these latter be older than the time of *Roger de Poitou*, who is spoken of in the *Domesday* Survey, as engaged in building a castle at LANCASTER, the seat of his barony.

The *Saxon* institutions which still exist, may just be mentioned among the *remains* of this people. The *friborg*, or *Saxon* manor, is a remarkable instance of this kind. The *friborg* consisted of eleven townships surrounding the original lordship, to which all but one were subject. The *wita*, or counsellors, having considered the impunity with which trespasses against neighbours were committed, appointed over every *ten* friborgs, justiciaries, whom they denominated "the head of ten." "These," says Dr. *Kuerden*, "handled smaller matters betwixt townsmen and neighbours, and, according to the degree of trespass, accorded

\* Baines, vol. iv., p. 585, 586. † Baines, vol. i., p. 38.

‡ Clark, p. 19.

satisfaction, made agreements respecting pastures, meadows, and corn lands, and reconciled differences among neighbours: but when great matters fell out, they were referred to the superior justiciaries appointed over them, and whose jurisdiction extended over a hundred of these friborgs.\* The designation of the hundreds, &c., still affords instances of *Saxon* nomenclature. Indeed the evidences of *Saxon* occupancy are so obvious that it seems quite a work of supererogation to attempt to point them out.

\* MSS., 4to., fo. 286.

## CHAPTER VII.

## LANCASTER UNDER THE DANES.

THE *Northmen*, or *Danes*, a more barbarous race, if possible, than even the *Saxon* pirates, suddenly made their appearance, to contest the palm of empire with the *Anglo-Saxons*, in *Britain*.

The *Danes* were a mixed people, and are called by the *English* historians indifferently *Getes*, *Goths*, *Jutes*, *Norwegians*, *Dacians*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Vandals*, *Frieslanders*; their armies being composed of these several nations. They are called in *France*, *Normans*, that is to say, men of the north. *Gothland*, *Scandia* or *Scandinavia*, situated in the north of *Europe*, is said to have been peopled soon after the flood, by two nations, or rather by two branches of the same nation—the *Goths* and *Swedes*, who founded two large kingdoms in this part of the world.

In the reign of *Eric*, sixth king of the *Goths*, and said to be contemporary with *Terah*, *Abraham's* father,\* *Gothland* was become so exceedingly populous, that the country was unable to maintain its inhabitants. To remedy this inconvenience, which

\* Rapin.

increased daily, *Eric* was compelled to send away part of his subjects to seek their fortunes in the neighbouring isles. As, in those days, no one had a permanent interest in land, which was cantoned out to the people, to be possessed for one year only, it was decided by lot who were to leave their country in quest of new habitations.\* It was a law or custom amongst the northern nations, that only one of the male children should be selected to remain at home, to inherit the government and property of his forefathers; the rest were exiled to the ocean in quest of a fortune, to be derived from rapacity, or obtained by the sword. All men of royal descent, who assumed piracy as a profession, enjoyed the title of *sea-kings*.† Without a yard of territorial property, without any visible nation, or even a single town, with no wealth but their ships, no force but their crews, and no hope but from their sword, the *sea-kings* swarmed upon the boisterous ocean, visited every district they could approach, and maintained a fearful empire on that dangerous element. They plundered the more fertile parts of the earth of its productions, and then retired to enjoy, or rather devour, the fruits of a dangerous campaign. These fierce barbarians seem to have maintained a studied equality amongst themselves; every one drank from the same vessel, without regard either to rank or power: to excel in personal accomplishment was to exhibit the most refined species of ferocity; and in nothing

\* *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.*, lib. 6. c. 20.      *P. Warnefrid de gestis Longobard.*, c. 2.

† *Turner*, vol. ii., p. 40.

was their character for cruelty more conspicuous than in their savage exultation over their miserable captives. They tore the helpless infant from its mother's breast, and tossed it from one ruffian to another, that they might practice their dexterity by catching the shrieking babe upon the points of their spears. This was one of their amusements—a pastime well calculated to enure them to scenes of cruelty, unchecked by the dictates of humanity.\*

It was a custom amongst these ancient warriors to set up a dismal shout when they rushed into battle. The modern *Russians* and the different tribes of *American Indians* continue the same horrid yell. But the *Danes* seem to have excelled even in this species of brutality. They imitated, as much as possible, the howling of maddened wolves, gnawed their shields, and exhibited the most perfect images of frantic horror.†

These people thus spread over the isles, and *Jutland*, on the continent, formerly known by the name of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, acknowledged the kings of *Gothland* for their sovereigns, for the space of seven hundred years. *Humel*, the sixteenth king of the *Goths*, first made them independent, by letting them have for their king, his son *Dan*, from whom *Denmark* derived its name. *Dan*, according to the northern historians, was contemporary with *Gideon*. Their country affording them plenty of materials for building and equipping a fleet, they soon became superior, at sea, to all their neighbours. In time, they employed all

\* Turner, vol. ii., p. 47, 48.

† Ibid, vol. ii., p. 48, 49.



their naval forces in plundering ships, and ravaging the coasts of *Europe*. *England*, *France*, and the *Low Countries* were most exposed to their robberies. For above a hundred and fifty years the sea was covered with *Danish* pirates. So fearful were their devastations, that deliverance was sought from them in earnest prayer: "A furore *Normannorum* libera nos, *Domine*." The intention of the *Danes*, in their first invasions of the coasts of *England* was only plunder. And therefore they made war, not like regular troops, with some fixed and settled design, but like pirates, sacking and destroying what they were unable to carry away.

Before *Egbert* ascended the throne, the *Northmen* had commenced their attacks upon *Britain*; and so early as the year 787, a small expedition landed at *Teignmouth*, in *Devonshire*. The invaders were principally from the promontory of *Denmark*, the *Cimbrica Chersonesus* of *Tacitus*.

In the same year when *Offa* acquired the supremacy of *Wessex*, three strange vessels made the shores of *Dorsetshire*, and landed their crews near one of the king's towns. *Badohard*, the Reeve or Mayor of the town, unsuspecting of any danger, rode to meet the strangers, probably thinking that they were traders, and with the intent of claiming the customs due upon their merchandise. If such was his object, he received payment from the *Danish* battle-axe; his attendants shared the same fate and fell before the invaders.

From this æra, the *Danes* became the incessant and inveterate foes of *Britain* and its inhabitants,

visiting every part of the island with fire and sword. They are always before us;—we always see the horizon reddened with flames;—we always hear the tramp of war.\*

The chief scene of strife was laid in *Northumbria*. In A. D. 794, a more formidable armament effected a landing in *Britain*, and spread devastation amongst the *Northumbrians*, plundering the monastery of king *Everth*, at the entrance to the *Wear*.† The resistance made to the invaders was so determined, that some of their leaders were slain: several of their ships were shattered by the violence of a storm, and such of the invaders as escaped the fury of the waves, fell by the sword. The following year, *Erdulf*, the viceroy or king of *Northumbria*, ascended the throne, and was consecrated in the capital of *York*.‡

In the year 844 the *Danes* made a descent on *Northumberland*, and slew *Redowald*, whom a faction had made king, in the room of *Ethelred*, who ascended the throne of *Northumberland* in 841. The *Danes* never failed to visit *England* once every year, purely for the sake of plunder, until 845, when the earls *Enulph* and *Osríc*, with bishop *Alstan*, gave them battle near the river *Parret* in *Somersetshire*, and obtained a signal

\* Palgrave's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 105.

† Benedict Biscop built an abbey at the mouth of the river *Wear*, with stone, in the Roman manner. For this work he brought masons from the continent, and also glass-makers, who taught the English the art of making window glass and lamps, as well as domestic vessels; and thus the elegant and useful art of glass-making, for which Lancashire is still famous, was first introduced into this county.—*Baines' History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, vol. 1., p. 9., 8vo., Liverpool, 1824.

‡ Saxon Chronicle.

victory, in consequence of which the *English* remained unmolested for several years. The king of *Northumberland* reigned but three years after his restoration, when he was slain, and a lord, named *Osbert* was placed on his throne. The troubles and divisions in that kingdom gave the *Danes* opportunity for making frequent incursions. Whenever they came, they were sure of being welcome to the weakest party, neither faction scrupling to join with the *Danes* in order to get uppermost.

In 860, the *Danes* renewed their invasions, landing at *Southampton*, whence they proceeded to *Winchester*, the metropolis of *Wessex*, which town they reduced to ashes.

In 866, *Ethelred* I. ascended the throne, his reign was short and troublesome. From his coronation to his death, he had one continued conflict with the *Danes*. They began with attacking *Northumberland*, of which they ultimately became masters. By degrees, however, the *Northumbrians* freed themselves from servitude. The factions that had long reigned among them were grown cooler, and so far agreed at last, as with unanimous consent to place *Osbert* on the throne. This happy union would have restored *Northumberland* to its ancient splendour, if an unexpected accident had not revived their dissensions, and plunged the country into a gulf of misery. *Osbert*, who kept his court at *York*, returning one day from hunting, stopped to refresh himself at the house of a certain earl, *Bruern Bocard*, guardian of the coasts against the irruptions of the *Danes*. The earl being from

home at the time, his lady, a person of great beauty and engaging manners, entertained her sovereign with the respect due to his quality. *Osbert*, overcome with the sight of so much beauty, determined to gratify his passion without delay. On a pretence of having some matters of importance to communicate to her, in the absence of the earl, he led her into a private room, where after several attempts to bring her to compliance by entreaties, he at length accomplished his purpose by force. Earl *Bruern*, on learning what had taken place, was exceedingly enraged, and determined to be revenged. He had great interest with the *Northumbrians*, and by his management, the *Bernicians* revolted, deposed *Osbert*, and elected *Ella*, whom they placed on the throne, with a determination to support him. Thus the old divisions were kindled afresh, and *Northumberland* was once more divided between two kings and two factions, who continually aimed at each other's destruction. A civil war was the fatal consequence of this discord. Not satisfied with depriving *Osbert* of half his dominions, he determined to deprive him of the throne of *Deira*, but deeming this impracticable without foreign aid, he fatally resolved to procure the assistance of the *Danes*.\* As soon as the earl

\* Another reason has been assigned. The story is that Lodebroch king of Denmark, going a hawking in a boat was driven out to sea by a storm, and cast upon the English coast, near Yarmouth. He was seized and brought to Edmund's court, then king of East Anglia, who finding him a great sportsman, was pleased with his company. Bern, the king's falconer, perceiving himself outdone in his business by this stranger, drew him into a wood, on pretence of showing him game, and barbarously murdered him. Lodebroch's dog, almost starved, coming to the palace, and being fed goes away. The dog doing this several

arrived in *Denmark*, he applied to king *Ivar* (or *Hinguar*),\* and gave him a particular account of the distracted state of *Northumberland*, intimating to him, that if he made an invasion at the present juncture, he might with ease become master of the kingdom. *Ivar* very readily came into the enterprise, to which he was prompted by the desire of revenge as well as ambition. *Regnerus*, his father, having been taken prisoner in *England*, was thrown into a ditch full of serpents, where he miserably perished. Such barbarous treatment having inspired *Ivar* with hatred against the *English*, he readily listened to the proposal, and concerted with Earl *Bruern* the necessary measures to put their design into execution. In the spring, he entered the *Humber* with a numerous fleet, spreading terror throughout all *England*. It was conducted by *Bruern*, and attended by his brother *Hubba*, esteemed the most valiant person of his day.

In the year 869, *Lancashire* was visited with a severe famine, and its inevitable consequence, a mortality of cattle and of the human race.† *Agri-*

times, the king's servants followed him, and thus were brought to a sight of the corpse. Bern was tried for the murder, and on being found guilty, was condemned to be put into Lodebroch's boat, and committed to the mercy of the sea, without tackling or provisions. It was carried to the Danish shores. The boat was known. Bern was apprehended and examined about Lodebroch. He told them that being cast on the coast of East Anglia, he was put to death by Edmund's order. Upon which *Ivar* and *Hubba*, Lodebroch's sons sailed for East Anglia with a numerous army, but were forced by bad weather into Northumberland.—*Brompt. M. Westm.*

\* Pontanus in his history of Denmark does not place *Ivar* amongst the kings of that country; but Meursius assures us that this prince was crowned in 836.

† Asser 20.

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culture was but imperfectly understood, and almost every district of the kingdom was left to depend upon its own precarious resources. The equalizing operations of commerce, by which the failure of the crops in one country is supplied by the superabundance of another, were then scarcely known in *Britain*. Moreover, the contest between the *Anglo-Saxons* and the *Danes*, in this and the neighbouring counties, had withdrawn the husbandman from his employment, and having neglected to sow, of course he had nothing to reap. The consequence was, that not only were many parts of the county mourning in want, but were absolutely depopulated.\*

*Alfred* was now advanced to the throne of *Wessex*: but within a month of his elevation, he was attacked and defeated at *Wilton*.† A new swarm of *Danes* soon after landed, under three of their princes, *Guthrum*, *Oscital*, and *Amund*, and proceeded into *Northumbria*. The husbandmen became slaves of the invaders, and the thanes were made subservient to their purposes of avarice and aggrandisement.

In *Northumbria* the *Danes* continued to govern till towards the close of *Alfred's* reign, when *Anarawad* abandoned his power in that kingdom, and besought the friendship of *Alfred*.

The state of learning in *Lancashire*, in the ninth century may be inferred from *Alfred's* own declaration:—"When I took the kingdom," said he, "there were very few on the south side of the *Humber*, the MOST IMPROVED PART OF *England*,

\* Baines. vol. i., p. 45.

† Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 871.

who could understand their daily prayers in *English*, or translate a letter from the *Latin*; I think there were not many beyond the *Humber*; they were so few, that I cannot indeed recollect *one single instance on the south of the Thames*, when I took the kingdom.”\*

*Alfred* changed the ancient *provisional* divisions of *England* into counties, and the distribution of these into hundreds, which were again subdivided into tenths or tythings. The south-western portion of the *Brigantine* territory of the *Romans*, and of the *Northumbrian* kingdom of the *Saxons*, was named *Loncasceshire* or *Lonkeshire*, from the capital *LONCASTER*, the castle on the *Lone* or *Lune*.†

The success of the *Northmen* was so great, that in the short space of three years from the invasion of *Hungar* and *Hubba*, they had not only overrun, but actually subdued the whole of *England*, *Wessex* excepted. This kingdom, about this period, was governed by *Alfred*, a prince who displayed none of those qualities at first, which afterwards conferred on him the justly-deserved title of “*The Great*.” He not only vanquished the *Danes* by land, but raised a formidable navy to oppose them on the sea. A fleet of a hundred and twenty ships, formed into divisions, constantly guarded the island; and a survey of the sea-coast having been made at his command, he appointed the most convenient stations for his navy to oppose the descent of the *Danes*. *Thorkelin*, a *Danish* historian of great research, illustrating the invasions of *Northumberland* by the *Danes*, in the ninth and tenth centuries,

\* *Alfred's Preface*, p. 52.

† *Baines*, vol. 1. p. 48.

remarks:—"Towards the end of the reign of *Adelbricht*, king of *Northumberland*, an army of *Danes*, under *Knut* and *Gorm*, invading *England*, subdued a great part of this province; upon which *Adelbricht* meeting the enemy, and fighting a battle at *Cliffeland*, or *Cleveland*, in the north, routed the *Danes* with great slaughter. But soon after, the *Danes*, leading their forces to *Scardeburcha*, fought and obtained the victory; then marching to *York*, they subdued the inhabitants, and passed some time in peace."\*

Whatever might be the cause of the *Danish* invasion, it was conducted on a scale sufficient to ensure its success against a kingdom already weakened by intestine broils, and wholly unprepared for the approach of an enemy. Five years had nearly elapsed since *Ella* had been set up in opposition to *Osbert*; and the power of these two rival princes had been so equally balanced, that while the former maintained himself on the throne of *Deira*, he could not expel the latter from the possession of *Bernicia*.† Such was the state of *Northumberland* when the *Danish* armada, composed of various warlike bands, all equally eager for plunder and for blood, prepared to overwhelm it. Having spent a part of the winter in *East Anglia*, where they

\* Translation of Nordymbra, sive historia rerum in Northumbriâ a Danis Norvegiisque gestarum, seculis, ix., x., xi., 4to., 1788.

† Some writers assign *Bernicia* to *Ella*, and *Deira* to *Osbert*. But we find that the lands which *Osbert* is charged with taking from the church of *Lindisfarne*, are situated in *Bernicia*; while those which *Ella* seized, belonged to *Deira*.—*Sim. Dun.*, c. 21. Moreover, in an ancient record, which gives an account of *Ella*'s adultery with the wife of *Ærnulf Seafar*, a rich merchant of *York*, he is expressly called "*rex Deirorum*;" and is said then to have resided a few miles from *York*.—*Lel. Coll.* ii., p. 367.



first landed, and where they obtained a supply of horses, the enemy crossed the *Humber* in great force; and advancing rapidly towards *York*, took possession of that capital, and from thence proceeded to lay waste the province with fire and sword. The tide of desolation rolled northward to the banks of the *Tyne*, filling every place with slaughter and rapine, sparing neither age nor sex, and converting the country into a desert, and towns and villages into ruinous heaps—the churches and monasteries being peculiarly the objects of their fury. *Osbert* and *Ella* saw, when it was too late, the fatal effects of their civil discord, and through the interference of their nobles, they at last agreed to forget their quarrels and unite their forces against the common enemy. The *Danes* had retired to *York* with their booty. Thither the two kings, with eight earls, advanced to attack them. A dreadful conflict took place at *York*, partly without the walls, and partly in the streets of the city; a part of the *Saxon* troops having forced their way into it. For a long time, the issue was doubtful, but at last the *Saxons* were overpowered, and *Osbert* and *Ella* both perished, with a great part of their army. The *Icelandic* and other northern historians relate that *Ella* was put to a cruel death in revenge for the death of *Ragnar Lodbrog*.\* This catastrophe, which occurred in the spring of 867, was fatal to the kingdom of *Northumbria*, which never again recovered its independence as a *Saxon* state; for when it had continued some years under the dominion of the

\* *Sim. Dunelm*, c. 21.      *Turner*, vol. ii., p. 123.

*Danes*, it submitted, like the rest of *England*, to the kings of *Wessex*.\*

After the battle of *York*, the *Danes* assumed the sovereignty of all *Northumberland*. They appointed one *Ecgbert* to be king of *Bernicia*, but retained *Deira* in their own possession: and *York*, which they repaired, became their head quarters, from whence they extended their ravages into *Mercia*, *East Anglia*, and other kingdoms of the heptarchy. *East Anglia* experienced the same fate as *Deira*: *Edmund*, its king, was slain, the inhabitants were almost exterminated, and the whole country was laid waste. Not long after, *Bernicia* suffered the same cruel devastation. The *Northumbrians* had expelled *Ecgbert*, and raised one *Ricsig* to the throne, but, in A.D. 875, *Halfdene*, one of the *Danish* kings, arrived with an army in the *Tyne*, to complete the subjugation of *Bernicia*, and the same bloody tragedy which had been acted in the south of *Northumbria* was witnessed in the north. In the following year *Ricsig* died of grief for the calamities of his country, and another *Ecgbert* was advanced by the *Danes*, to the nominal sovereignty; though some think that the former *Ecgbert* was restored.

*Northumbria* and *East Anglia* now became *Danish* kingdoms; the lands were divided by *Halfdene* and the other chiefs among their followers, the few *Saxons* who survived, were incorporated with the new settlers. And when *Alfred*

\* Simeon Dunelm, dates it 12 Kalendas Aprilis, which Turner renders the 12th of April, but by the Roman computation, it is the 21st of March.

*the Great*, king of *Wessex*, recovered the southern provinces from the *Danes*, in 878, he left them in full possession of these two kingdoms which they had colonized. There is reason to believe that a great proportion of the present inhabitants of *Norfolk*, *Lincolnshire*, *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, and *Northumberland*, are sprung from *Danish* ancestors.

Which of the sons of *Ragnar*, was king of *Deira*, or whether it was appropriated to any one of them in particular, it is difficult to determine; for at one time we find *Inguar* or *Ivar* reigning prince at *York*, at another time *Hubba*, and lastly *Halfdene*. Upon the death of the last of these royal brothers, in 882, one *Guthred*, a *Dane*, the son of *Hardicanut*, was raised to the throne of *Deira*, while *Ecgbert* still reigned in *Bernicia*, and *Guthrun* was king of *East Anglia*.\* *Guthred* had a prosperous reign of fourteen years, and was one of the few kings of *Northumbria* who died in peace.

In what manner *Deira* was governed during the seven years which followed the death of *Guthred* is not certainly known. It was probably possessed by several petty chiefs or kings, for upon the death of *Alfred*, in 901, *Ethelwald*, who was competitor with *Edward* the elder, being driven out of *Wessex*, was received with open arms by the *Northumbrian Danes*, who chose him for their sovereign, advancing him above their kings and chiefs.† His reign,

\* *Ecwils* is also mentioned as the colleague of *Halfdene*; and according to many of the annalists, these kings reigned twenty-six years in *Northumbria*, and at last perished in a great battle fought at *Wodnesfield*, or *Wilmesford*, with the forces of *Edward the Elder*, about the year 910.—*Leland's Coll.*, i. p. 214, 218.      *Turner*, ii., p. 219, 399.

† "Super reges et duces suos ipsum regem, et principem statuerunt." *Lsl. Coll.*, i., p. 214, 218.

however, was of short continuance; for, having invaded the dominions of *Edward*, in the hopes of deposing him, he fell in a fierce engagement with the men of *Kent*, A.D. 905, and *Eohric*, or *Ethric*, king of *East Anglia*, who had joined him in the enterprise, shared in his fate. Yet the *Anglo-Danes* were not conquered; they rallied under new leaders, and gained the victory; so that *Edward*, harassed by their incursions, was glad to make peace with them.\* But they were too turbulent to remain long in peace. In a short time hostilities were renewed; and though *Edward* gained a victory over them in *Northumbria*, where he laid waste a great part of the country; though he overcame another of their armies at *Tattenhall*, in *Staffordshire*, in the following year; and though he afterwards gained a third and more splendid victory at *Wodnesfield*, or *Wilmsford*, where their two kings, *Halfdene* and *Ecwils*, fell, yet they still withstood his power and maintained their independence. Who were the next possessors of the *Northumbrian* throne it is difficult to ascertain. In the close of *Edward's* reign it was occupied by *Reginald*, the son of *Guthfred*, a *Danish* king. This *Guthfred* was, perhaps, a different person from *Guthred* formerly mentioned; but the immediate predecessor of *Reginald* was *Sithric*,† the son of *Inguar*, who having slain his brother *Nigel*, or *Niel*, incurred the general odium of his subjects; when *Reginald* taking advantage of their disaffection, obtained possession of *York*, and of the kingdom. His claim to the crown appears, indeed, to have

\* Saxon Chron.

† Called also Sidric, Sitric, Sigtryg, &amp;c.

been as valid as that of *Sithric*, for the latter had taken possession of the throne upon the death of *Guthfred*, to the exclusion of *Reginald*, his son and heir. It would seem that one *Aldred*, the son of *Eadulph*, was a king in *Northumbria*, at the same time with *Reginald*; he probably reigned in *Bernicia*. Both these princes were constrained to pay homage to *Edward*, whose influence extended even to the *Scots* and to the *Strathclyde Britons*.\* *Reginald* did not long enjoy the undisturbed possession of his throne; for the fickle and restless *Northumbrians* soon recalled *Sithric*, and reinstated him in at least a part of his dominions.† The power of the latter was greatly increased by an alliance with *Athelstan*, the son and successor of *Edward*, who gave him his sister *Editha* in marriage. But the happiness of *Sithric* was of short duration, for before the expiration of a year, he was cut off by the hand of death. A short time before his decease, he put away his wife, and renounced Christianity, which he had professed on his marriage. *Athelstan*, enraged at this affront, was preparing to chastise him; and upon hearing of the news of his death, he advanced with an army and took possession of his territories. *Anlaf* and *Godefrid*, or *Guthfred*, the sons of *Sithric* by a former marri-

\* Chron. Sax. Hen. Huntingd., lib. v. Chron. Urivall., apud Lel. Col., i., p. 194, 215. Sim. Dun., c. 31.

† It is possible that *Sithric*, when expelled from York and the neighbourhood, might still retain the sovereignty over part of his dominions. Rapin supposes him to have reigned over *Bernicia*, while *Reginald* possessed *Deira*; but *Aldred* was the prince who then reigned at *Bamburgh*.—See *Ridpath's History*, p. 46. If *Deira* were divided between *Reginald* and *Sithric*, the latter had probably the western part for his share.

age, fled before the conqueror: the former into *Ireland*, the latter into *Scotland*. *Athelstan* sent messengers in pursuit of *Godefrid*, and *Constantine*, king of *Scots*, was prevailed on to deliver up the fugitive: but he afterwards effected his escape, and betook himself to a life of privacy. *Athelstan* having seized on *Deira*, from whence *Reginald* appears to have retired, perhaps before the death of *Sithric*, *Bernicia*, where *Aldred* ruled, became an easy conquest, and as the *Danish* kingdom of *East Anglia* had been previously subdued, *England* was now, for the first time, united under one sovereign. The kingdom of *Northumbria* had already at various periods been compelled to pay homage to the kings of *Wessex*; but it was only the homage which a small independent state is obliged to pay to its more powerful neighbour. It was now at last reduced to a state of complete subjection to that dynasty. The honour of being the first king of all *England* cannot, with propriety, be assigned to *Egbert* or to *Alfred*, under whom the kingdom of *Wessex* was raised to the first rank in the heptarchy; any more than to *Edwin* or to *Oswy*, under whom a similar eminence was acquired by *Northumbria*; but whatever our historians have said to the contrary, that honour must be assigned to *Athelstan*.

This memorable revolution took place about the year 927, the third year of *Athelstan's* reign. A powerful confederacy was formed, for the purpose of overturning the throne of *Athelstan*, or at least of wresting *Northumbria* from his grasp. With this view, an expedition was planned on an exten-

sive scale, which must have been a considerable time in completing. *Constantine* and *Anlaf* headed the armament, and they were supported by *Ewen* king of *Cumbria*,\* with several other petty kings from *Ireland*, *Wales*, the *Scottish Isles*, and even from *Norway*. They arrived in the *Humber* with an immense force in six hundred and fifteen ships, and soon overpowered the troops that opposed their landing, and advanced into the country to meet *Athelstan*. That prince was aware of the approaching storm, and had prepared to face it with his wonted energy and courage. His army was numerous and well appointed, and was commanded by officers of distinguished bravery: amongst whom were his brother *Edmund*, and his chancellor *Thurketul*, with *Thorolf* and *Egils*, two seakings, who headed a band of allies from the continent. The hostile armies met at a place called *Brunanburg*, probably not far from the banks of the *Humber*. Here was fought one of the most dreadful battles recorded in *English* history. It lasted from morning until night, with various success; but victory at last declared for *Athelstan*, chiefly through the gallant conduct of *Thurketul*, who performed prodigies of valour. The carnage on both sides was horrible; but especially on the part of the allies, who lost five kings, and a number of princes and nobles, and amongst whom was the warlike son of *Constantine*. *Anlaf* and *Constantine* made good their retreat to their ships, with the sad fragments of their

\* *Cumbria* was a small British kingdom, consisting of part of the present Cumberland, with some parts of the south of Scotland.

numerous army.\* This glorious victory, which, was gained in the year 938, secured to *Athelstan* the possession of his conquests, procured him the homage of all the *British* states, and exalted his fame above that of any *English* king who had preceded him. The *Saxon* writers celebrate his praises in lofty strains; and the account of this victory in the *Saxon Chronicle* is one of the songs composed on the occasion. But shortlived are the triumphs of mortals. In less than three years *Athelstan* died, when the *Northumbrians* immediately asserted their independence, and recalled *Anlaf* to occupy the throne. *Reginald* it would appear, returned at the same time: and so prompt and vigorous were the exertions of the *Northumbrians* under their new princes, that instead of waiting until *Edmund*, the successor of *Athelstan*, should attack them, they marched an army into the heart of his dominions, and after gaining two victories, compelled him to conclude a peace with them, on terms that were highly honourable to *Anlaf*, *Edmund* ceding to him all that part of *England*, which lay to the north of *Watling Street*, one of the great *Roman* roads which traversed *Britain*; it extended from *Richborough* on the east coast to *Holyhead* on the west. But as soon as *Edmund* had recovered from his alarm, and collected a sufficient force, he broke the treaty, retook a great part of the country which he had ceded, and expelled from *Mercia*, those *Danes*,

\* Some Annalists state that Constantine and Anlaf fell in the engagement; but it is clear from the best authorities that they both escaped.



who were called the *Five Burghers*,\* who were ever ready to join their countrymen in all their incursions and insurrections. Another accommodation took place between *Edmund* and the *Northumbrian* princes; but two years after this, A.D. 944, *Anlaf* and *Reginald*, probably weakened by mutual quarrels, both yielded to the power of *Edmund*, and were driven from *Northumbria*, which was again incorporated with the rest of *England*. Upon the death of *Edmund*, A.D. 946, *Northumbria* was again in commotion, for the hope of independence excited that province to revolt from *Edred*. At first the disturbance was quelled, and marks of submission were extorted; but in 949, the revolt assumed a more formidable aspect, the exiled *Anlaf* having returned to resume the *Northumbrian* crown. *Anlaf* was soon in a condition to withstand the power of *Edred*; but having become unpopular with his subjects, they deprived him of his throne, and advanced *Eric* the son of *Harold*, to the royal dignity.

In *Northumbria*, the *Danes* established themselves independent of the *Anglo-Saxon* monarchs, until *Edward the Elder*, in A.D. 924, forced them to acknowledge his sovereignty. Anno Domini 950, *Edred* totally subdued the *Danes* in *Northumbria*, and made it an *English* province, garrisoning all the strong cities and towns with *English* troops, and appointing an *English* governor.† LANCASTER was one of the principal towns in the kingdom of

\* So called from their possessing the five cities of Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby.—*Saxon Chronicle*.

† Clark, p. 84.

*Northumbria* during the *Saxon Heptarchy*, and also whilst the *Danes* swayed the sceptre of *Northumbria*; but during the dark and illiterate ages, little information of a *general*, and still less of a *local*, nature, has been handed down to posterity.

The reign of *Eric*, the last of the *Northumbrian* kings, appears to have been as short as that of his predecessors. *Edred* invaded *Northumberland*, in 954, with a large force, and having laid waste a large part of the country, was retiring southward, when a party of *Northumbrians* from *York*, attacked and cut off the rear of his army, at *Castleford*. Enraged at this slaughter, *Edred* returned with the resolution of destroying the whole province: but the inhabitants dreading his resentment, deposed their king *Eric*, slew *Amancus*, the son of *Anlaf*, another pretender to the *Northumbrian* throne, and made the most humble submissions to *Edred*. It appears that *Eric*, supported by a number of friends and allies, made an effort to recover his lost dominion, but perished in the attempt, and *Edred* having reduced the province to complete subjection, converted it into an *Earldom*, and appointed *Osulf*, an *Englishman*, the first Earl of *Northumberland*. Thus was the *Northumbrian* kingdom finally abolished, after having subsisted under various forms, and with partial interruptions, for upwards of four hundred years. Nothing memorable is recorded of *Osulf*, the first earl of *Northumberland*. He had for his successor, and, as some say, for his colleague, *Oslach*, with whom *Eadulf* had a share in the earldom, the province

being divided into two districts.\* This district with most of the country which was formerly called *Deira*, constituted the earldom of *Oslach*.† In the year 975, about the time of *Edgar's* death, *Oslach* was banished. The *Saxon Chronicle* bewails his fate in plaintive language, and laments the troubles which caused his exile. To *Oslach*, succeeded *Waltheof* the elder, whose son *Ucthred*, afterwards earl of *Northumbria* married *Elgiva* daughter of king *Ethelred*.

In 1013, the *Danes*, who had previously infested the *Northumbrian* coasts as well as other parts of *England*, arrived in the *Humber*, with great force, under *Swein* their king, and encamped at *Gainsborough* on the *Trent*. *Ucthred* and his people were obliged to do homage to this warlike prince, who presently got possession of the throne of *England*, through the weakness or treachery of its defenders; *Ethelred*, well named the *unready*, making his escape into *Normandy*. On the death of *Swein*, *Northumbria* was involved in the struggles between his son *Canute* and *Edmund Ironside*, the son of *Ethelred*: and on one occasion *Edmund*, sore pressed by his adversary, took refuge with *Ucthred*, his brother-in-law, and employed his forces against the *Danish* prince; but the *Danes* prevailing through the perfidy of *Edric Streon*, the infamous duke of *Mercia*, *Edmund* retired to the south, and *Ucthred* was constrained to submit to the invader; and on going to make his submission to *Canute*, was slain

\* *Lel. Coll.* i. p. 125. *Turner* iii. p. 178. *Ridpath* p. 50.

† The Earls of the counties, were the Governors or Lord-Lieutenants.

by *Thurebrand*, a powerful *Dane*, by the orders or with the connivance of *Canute*, though the latter had given him assurances of safety. *Eric*, a *Norwegian* prince was raised to the earldom of *Northumberland*, but being soon afterwards removed, the dignity was conferred by *Canute*, on *Eadulf Cudel*, the brother of *Ucthred*, who avenged his father's death by killing *Thurebrand*, but was in his turn slain by *Carl*, the son of *Thurebrand*, not long after. *Eadulf*, the brother of *Aldred* was the next earl, who made an expedition into *Wales*, where he committed cruel devastations, and on his return was, by direction of *Hardicanute*, slain by *Siward*, who took possession of his earldom. *Siward*, who was of *Danish* extraction, was one of the bravest of the *Northumbrian* earls. He was of gigantic stature, of great military talents, and in high favour with king *Edward the Confessor*, by whom he was sent with a powerful army into *Scotland*, to assist *Macduff* and his associates in destroying the celebrated tyrant *Macbeth*, and placing *Malcolm* on the *Scottish* throne. The expedition was crowned with complete success, but is said to have cost *Siward* the loss of his eldest son. He died the following year, A.D. 1055, at *York*; when the earldom of *Northumberland* was bestowed by *Edward* on *Tosti*, the son of earl *Godwin*, and brother of *Harold* who became king of *England*. *Tosti* enjoyed his dignity for ten years; but his disposition was so cruel, and his government so oppressive, that a body of the *Northumbrians*, headed by *Gamelbearn*, *Glomern*, and other chiefs, whose kindred he had

murdered, attacked him at *York*, and slew a number of his adherents, himself narrowly escaping from their fury. *Harold* was sent with an army to quell the revolt, but the nobles representing to him the cruelties of his brother, he was convinced of the justice of their cause: *Morcar*, the son of *Algar*, duke of *Mercia*, whom they had chosen to be their earl, was therefore confirmed in his dignity; and the bloody *Tosti* retired into *Flanders*, to his brother-in-law earl *Baldwin*.\*

On the succession of *Edward the Confessor* to the throne, to the prejudice of *Sweyn*, king of *Norway*, the eldest son of *Canute*, the *English* flattered themselves, they were for ever delivered from the dominion of the *Danes*, and their rejoicings were unbounded. Ere long, however, they found another source of trouble, for the coast was soon filled with *Normans*, to the prejudice of the *Anglo-Saxon* nobility, and the language and fashions of *France*, were very generally introduced. This gave great offence to the native nobles.

This colony of LANCASTER, about *Edward the Confessor's* time was brought so low, that in the survey of *William I.*, when speaking of *Agmunderness*, and the villas or berewicks thereto belonging, no mention is made of any fort or castle at LANCASTER, or in any part of *Lancashire*, except one at *Penwortham*, held in demesne by

\* Harold was well aware of his brother's savage disposition; for on occasion of a quarrel between them, about the time when *Tosti* assisted him in plundering *Wales*, he repaired to his brother's house at *Hereford*, where the domestics were preparing an entertainment for the king, and having slain them all, he cut them in pieces, and put their mangled limbs into the vessels of liquor provided for the entertainment. *Ridpath*, p. 57 *Drake's Eboracum*, p. 82.

*Edward the Confessor*. LANCASTER being then a town, only appeared in the list with twenty-two others, held by earl *Tosti*.\*

"Of all the *Anglo-Saxon* governments, the kingdom of *Northumbria* had always been most perturbed. Usurper murdering usurper is the prevailing incident. A crowd of ghastly monarchs pass swiftly along the page of history as we gaze, and scarcely has the sword of the assassin been cleansed from its horrid pollution, before its point is turned upon its master, and he is carried to the sepulchre which he had just closed upon another. In this manner, during the last century and a half," previous to the reign of *Ethelred*, "no fewer than *seventeen* sceptered chiefs had hurled each other from their joyless throne, and the deaths of the greatest number were accompanied by hecatombs of their friends."†

In *Kennion's MSS.*, quoted by *Gregson*, we meet with the following remark;—"After the eruption of the *Danes*, this town with others, was much damaged, before they were totally subdued; so that king *Athelstane*, when he visited the northern parts of this kingdom was glad to . . . . (so in the original) by *Agmunderness*, in *Lancashire*, lying upon *Ribble*, which he bestowed on his great favourite *Wolston*, archbishop of *York*.‡

On the death of *Edward*, in the beginning of the year 1066, when *Harold* ascended the *English* throne, his brother *Tosti* resolved to make an effort to supplant him, or at least to recover the earldom

\* Kennion's MSS., quoted by Gregson, *Fragments*, p. 281.

† Turner, vol. ii. p. 119.

‡ Gregson's *Fragments*, fol. p. 281.

of *Northumberland*. Having collected an armament in *Flanders*, he sailed for the *English* shores ; and after plundering some parts of the coast, he attempted to get a footing in *Lincolnshire*, to collect his friends. But earl *Morcar*, with his brother *Edwin*, earl of *Mercia* hastened to oppose him ; and *Tosti*, being defeated, fled into *Scotland*. Soon after, he joined *Harald Harfagar*, or *Hardrada*, king of *Norway* ; who also aimed at the crown of *England* : and their combined forces having assembled in the *Tyne*, sailed to *Scarborough*, which they plundered and burnt, and thence proceeded to the *Humber*. In the first engagement, *Edwin* and *Morcar* were defeated, and took refuge in *York* ; *Harold* having arrived with a large army, four days after, a second and more dreadful conflict took place at *Stamford Bridge*, near *York*, where *Tosti* and the king of *Norway* fell, with the greater part of their troops. This signal victory confirmed *Morcar* for a time in the earldom of *Northumbria* ; but it was of no value to *Harold*, who perished twenty days after, on the fourteenth of October, 1066, in the famous battle of *Hastings*, where *William* duke of *Normandy* gained the crown of *England*.

The *Danes* have left few memorials of their residence here, though their successful invasion from the *Humber*, rendered the kingdom of *Northumbria*, one of the first scenes of their visitation and exaction. Still the few we do meet with are of a highly interesting character. The principal of these remains is a *Runic Cross*, which was found in the church-yard of *St. Mary's*, LANCASTER. The

following history of this cross and its inscription, appeared in the papers of that date:—

“In the biographical notice of the late Dr. Edward Holme, in our last number, we stated that in a box, in his study, was found part of an old stone cross, in two pieces, which had been discovered many years ago at Lancaster, and that we should recur to the subject. This singular relic of a bygone age (it cannot be less than 800 years, and may be 1100 years old)—was discovered many years ago,\* certainly upwards of twenty, in the church-yard of the parish church of St. Mary's, Lancaster. As a sepulchral monument, its proper place would have been the interior of the church; and such was the course taken in reference to a similar Runic monument found near, and now preserved in Harkness church. However, the then vicar of Lancaster directed that it should be placed on the ground near the entrance of the vicarage, and there it remained for a while. But at length it disappeared, and it is said that the owner of a museum of antiquities and curiosities at Kendal, obtained, by means of the sexton, an unauthorised possession of this cross, and placed it in his museum; and though the vicar of St. Mary's complained, in strong terms, to the gentleman from whom we derive this information, of the abstraction of this curious relic, so far as we know, he seems to have taken no active measure to claim and regain possession of it. In the year 1835, in consequence of the owner's death, all the articles in his museum at Kendal, were sold by auction, and amongst the rest, the Lancaster stone, which was purchased for the late Dr. Holme by one of his Kendal friends, under the protest of a gentleman attending the sale, that it ought not to be sold. Since then, it has been often asked by antiquarians at a distance, ‘What has become of the Lancaster stone?’ We believe that for the last twelve years, it has remained in the possession of Dr. Holme, carefully packed in bran, as we have already described. The height of this relic is 3 feet; its breadth, at the arms of the cross (of which the right is mutilated) is 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; and the breadth of the stem, at the inscription tablet, is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The cross itself is covered with entangled scrolls, in relief, the usual characteristic of many of these Runic crosses; and similar ornaments of a larger size adorn the stem, below the inscription. A wood engraving of the cross is given in Dr. Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, vol. ii., page 220; and, as we stated on Wednesday, delineations of this relic, front and back, and a large facsimile of the Runic inscription, in three lines, will be found in Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. iv., p. 524. The chief antiquarian interest in this ancient stone, of course centres upon its Runic inscription, which from the mouldering and decay of the stone, is to some extent, obscure, though the general forms of the letters are readily discernible. Several casts have been taken from the original, one of which is in the possession of the writer. From the cause just named, and in one instance, from an inaccurate drawing, these old Runes have been

\* A.D. 1607.



variously interpreted by five different gentlemen, who have sought to decypher them. In November, 1838, Dr. Holme read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, a dissertation 'On a Runic inscription discovered in Lancashire.' This paper does not appear in the Transactions of the Society, and all we can say of it is, that the Doctor's interpretation was much questioned.

"One of the Doctor's friends, Dr. Hibbert Ware, five years afterwards, laid a communication on the subject, from a distinguished Scandinavian antiquary, before the Antiquarian Society of Scotland; and he subsequently reviewed the various interpretations of the Runes in a short but interesting paper, which, though printed, has never yet been published, from a desire to avoid giving the least annoyance to his friend, Dr. Holme; and from this motive the document has remained in his portfolio till now. The reason for this reserve, however, no longer exists, and we have been permitted by Dr. Hibbert Ware, to publish this communication. It is as follows:—

"On the 27th March, 1843, Dr. Hibbert Ware laid before the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, a communication of Professor Finn Magnusen, of Copenhagen, explanatory of the Runes on a cross at Lancaster, accompanied with an historical account of the successive and various interpretations to which this inscription had been subjected. The memoir is accompanied by drawings made by Captain Edward Jones, of Lancaster, and by the late Mrs. Hibbert. The relic was discovered upwards of twenty years ago, in the cemetery of the parish church of Lancaster. From information contributed to Dr. Hibbert Ware, by Michael Jones, esq., F.S.A., we learn that, soon after it was dug up, a drawing of the same by an eminent artist, evidently not familiar with subjects of this kind, was submitted to William Hamper, esq., of Birmingham, a gentleman who had made Anglo-Saxon Runes his particular study. Mr. Hamper, in reply, expressed (as he had reason to do) the strongest doubts of the correctness of the drawing, and in reserving to himself the liberty of retracting the explanation which he most reluctantly offered, whenever the original itself should come within his observation, suggested that the letters were of the same alphabet as that of the Bewcastle pillar, namely, Anglo-Saxon. As it would be injustice to this antiquary, to give any details of the labour which he bestowed upon an unfaithful delineation, it is more than sufficient to remark, that the characters appeared to him to indicate the burial place of a Saxon named Ocyelbrit.

A second and succeeding interpretation was published by the late Dr. Whitaker, accompanied by a drawing still untrue to the original, which appeared in his History of Richmondshire (vol. ii., p. 229). As this author's attention was completely absorbed in investigations connected with the landed proprietorships of the districts he was examining, he could see no key to a knowledge of the Runes, which did not connect itself with this, the prominent object of his research. Pronouncing the inscription, therefore, as Danish, not Anglo-Saxon, he

fancied that it gave the names of 'five devout Danes, undoubted inhabitants and proprietors of lands in Lunsedale and the neighbourhood.'

HEBEOAEKFR  
RFNZEEBRD  
DRUIBMUMD

" 'That is, Ubbo, Aikfreth, Reafan, Siffred, and Druimond. 'Of all these,' adds our author (with a temerity singularly contrasting with Mr. Hamper's prudent reserve,) 'of all these except one, all other memory has perished. But it is a very singular and pleasing fact, that at this very time, and in this identical valley, flourished Aikfreth, a noble baron, lord of Dent and Sedburgh.' It might now have been supposed that the cross had more than fulfilled its destiny, in supplying Dr. Whitaker with no fewer than five dramatis personæ to move in his Danish Saga, certainly of the romantic class;—for soon afterwards the relic disappeared altogether from the cemetery of Lancaster to which it naturally belonged, and occupied the dusty corner of a showman's museum, at Kendal. In this state of obscurity it was discovered by Dr. Hibbert Ware, in the year 1834, who took a plaster cast of it, which he sent to Copenhagen, with the view of having the opinion of Professor Magnussen recorded in Mr. Baines's History of Lancaster, then in the course of publication. An answer from Denmark, however, not having arrived in due time, the sum of Dr. Hibbert Ware's contribution became confined to the drawings which he supplied, and these were unaccompanied by the least attempt on his part at an explanation of the Runes. The interpretation proposed by Mr. Baines in his History of the Duchy of Lancaster (vol. iv., p. 524), emanated from himself or from some other friend, and referred the characters to the alphabet of Dano-Runic or Runo-Danish letters, published by Dr. Hickes (we omit the inscription, not having the Anglo-Saxon type), explained as follows:—

" 'Gibi hath died, a kinsman of Balth (or of the bold race), known to camps, or (expert in the fields).'

" The next interpretation to be noticed is that of Professor Magnussen, which, in its tardy arrival was too late for insertion in the topographical work for which it was intended. The melancholy cause of the delay was now explained. It had been entrusted to a learned Scotchman, Mr. Macdougall, curator of one of the royal libraries at Copenhagen, who, in the autumn of 1835, lost his life by the upsetting of a boat at Largs, in Scotland. His extensive knowledge of the subjects of northern antiquities promised to be an honour to his native country. Professor Magnussen's communication is dated in the year 1836. It was addressed to Dr. Hibbert Ware, who would then have submitted it to the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, as a proper sequel to the dissertations which have already appeared on the Runes of the Ruthwell monument; but he was deterred by the obstacles which so long have prevented the publication

of the Society's Transactions. The interpretation, accompanied by valuable philological remarks, was as follows:—

' : GIBIDON FA  
RO CUNIBALD  
CUP BURMN

"The Professor considers that the true meaning of the inscription would be literally thus:—

"*Oremus nandæi* (obtinere) quietem Cunibaldum (bene) notum castri (civitatis) incolam (civem aut præfectum).—Let us pray that Cunibald, a well-known inhabitant of the castle, may obtain rest.

"This was the *fourth* interpretation which had been attempted of the Lancaster Runes. During the present year, a fifth has appeared in the volume of the 'Archæologia,' just published, to which a reference may be made, as it contains a drawing of the inscription from Dr. Hibbert Ware's cast. The memoir on the subject is by John Mitchell Kemble, esq., and the following is his reading:—

GIBIDÆTH FORÆ  
CYNIBATLH  
CUTHBERHT [INGÆ

"i. e. 'Orate pro Cynibaldo (et) Cuthberhto; or, Orate pro Cynibaldo Cuthberhti (filio).—Pray for Cynibald and Cuthberht; or, Pray for Cynibald (the son of) Cuthberht.'

"On the comparative merits of the *five* interpretations thus offered, Dr. Hibbert Ware did not profess himself competent to give an opinion, except to this extent:—that the question of preference evidently lay between the interpretation of Professor Magnussen—the antiquary whom Denmark holds most in esteem—and Mr. Kemble, the learned translator of *Beowulf*. That some trifling cause of the discrepancy might perhaps be owing to this circumstance—that, while the Danish Professor had the cast before him to study, Mr. Kemble had merely a drawing of it; but that a more deep seated cause remained to be sought for in the philological principles upon which the examination of most Anglo-Saxon inscriptions or MSS. was conducted. For instance,—

"Scandinavian antiquaries, at the head of whom is Professor Magnussen, have considered that the Anglo-Saxon was a sort of intermediate link between the old Teutonic (or high German) language, and the old Northern, which was anciently spoken in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, but is now confined to Iceland.\* They, therefore, in attempting to explain Anglo-Saxon Runes—or indeed Anglo-Saxon writings of any description—resort to old northern or Danish idioms. The Anglo-Saxon scholars of our own country, however, take a different view of the question. So far from considering the early language of the Angles as a link between the Teutonic and the old northern, they seem rather

\* See the Report of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, for 1836, page 3. —Introduction.

disposed to reverse the order, by assigning the intermediate place to the Icelandic language itself, which, in the phrase of the Rev. J. H. Albertsma, a Friesic philologist,\* is 'a tongue of transmigration.' In removing, therefore, the Anglo-Saxon language from an intermediate position to a rank of seniority, recourse is had to the order in which Germanic tribes are supposed to have peopled the west of Europe. It is argued, for instance, by Mr. Albertsma, that the language of the Angles, who, when they invaded Britain, were in league with the old Saxons, and were thence named Anglo-Saxons, was the dialect of a people the foremost of the German tribes who entered Europe from the east, and who, being pushed forward by following tribes, did not halt until they arrived on the shores of the German ocean. Here, under the name of Friesians, they filled nearly the whole of the Chersonesus Cimbricus (Jutland), and spread themselves, in one uninterrupted line, along the coast of the German sea to the mouth of the Scheld. According to this view, the Anglo-Saxon, or rather the Anglo-Friesic dialect, is an older one in Europe, than the old northern or Icelandic tongue, and hence its ancient written language must be explained, not by the aid of Danish or Scandinavian idioms, which it could not have borrowed, but by its own internal character and peculiarities. Dr. Hibbert Ware submitted that such were the two opposite principles which more or less influence the attempts hitherto made to explain the ancient writings of the Anglo-Saxons. Thus, while the early poem of 'Beowulf' was, many years ago, with exclusive Scandinavian prepossessions, translated by Professor Thorkelin, it became subjected in the late version of Mr. Kemble, to a very different mode of treatment, originating from the impression that the Anglo-Saxon tongue had borrowed little or nothing from the old northern or Icelandic. To these conflicting views there is no doubt that the recent very opposite versions given of the Ruthwell cross are attributable: and it remains to be shown how far, in the present instance, in the case of the Lancaster Runes, the same antagonist influence of principles may have operated so as to account for the very remarkable discrepancy which characterises the interpretations of two most erudite Anglo-Saxon scholars and philologists.'

"The following paper 'On the Reading of the Lancaster Runic Inscription,' is from the pen of J. Just, esq., of Bury, who observes:—

"We may consider it as a general rule, that when any language contains within itself names for its own alphabet, and reading and writing that alphabet, and for the books, or material used for writing—such people, or nation using such a language, has had from times immemorial a native literature of its own. This may be instanced in the Latin language as now known, the Latin language has been modified as much (and perhaps somewhat more) by the introduction of Greek terms through the channel of the Greek colonies, which settled within Italy in early times, as the English of the present day has been, by the

\* See the Introduction to Rev. Dr. Bosworth's Dictionary, p. xlv.

settlement of the Norman-French in our land. Yet prior to the times of the settlement of the Greeks, within old Ansonia, the natives had a literature of their own. This the very names which they employed as terms for writing, reading, for their letters, books, &c., not only seem to imply, but strongly to warrant and corroborate. For if we apply this as a test to the Keltic languages, so called—spoken by bards, and held sacred by Druids—we shall find that all the terms in such languages, expressive of literature, have been borrowed from foreign sources. Thus the Welsh, the Erse, and its dialect the Gaelic, have borrowed the names of letters, of books, of writing, from the Latin tongue, thus indicating to us, that ere the subjugation of Britain by the Romans, and the introduction of Christianity into Ireland by the same people, these nations had no native literature of their own.

"The same cannot be said of the Gothic nations. Long before they fell in with the provinces which Rome had rendered fertile, and the people whom she had civilised, they had a literature of their own. And not only so, but they had even a character peculiar to themselves. This was the Runic, the invention of which is so remote, that they ascribe it to Odin, the founder of their several races. Antiquity presents nothing more curious than the rude inscriptions found upon rocks, stones, and sepulchral crosses, which have withstood the desolation of time, conquest, and the days of ignorance and modern improvements, and yet greet our eyes now and then as strange documents within this our land, of the habits of our ancestry, when all other kinds of memorials have perished.

"Most of these Runic Inscriptions are productions subsequent to the introduction of Christianity into the several nations, and districts wherein they have been found. It has, therefore, been urged by some authors, that the Runic characters are not of such ancient date, since little use was made of them by the several nations in their Pagan state. Without entering at all into the question, as to their real origin, and the exact radical meaning of the word "Rune," we have the authority of Olaus Wormius,\* and others, that Runic inscriptions entered into almost all the transactions of the Scandinavian and ancient Teutonic races, as charms and spells to guard the safety of persons and properties.

"They had their Sigrunars, or Runes inscribed on the hilts and handles of their swords to secure them victory in their conflicts. They had their Brunrunars or Water Runes engraven on the stems and rudders of their vessels, to protect their plunder from the dangers of the sea. They had their Malrunar on their fences, tents, seats, &c., to secure their triumphs in their Things or law-suits. They had their Aulrunars cut upon their drinking horns, and on the back parts of their hands drawn out with the letter A, N, or Naud, marked on the finger nails, to guard them against women's interference with their ale, and their drinking bouts. They had their Biargrunars or Runes written within the hollow of their hands, or bound round their limbs, to help

\* Vide O. Wormius's *Literatura Runica*, cap. 5. p. 33.

women with child to safe delivery; and to protect them all from the Dyses—Evil geni—lest such should play the “Duse” with them; and they had their Hugrunars or Heart Runes, lettered on their manly parts and on their breasts, to make them more courageous than their fellows and competitors. Sculptured out also on the bark of trees, they had their Limrunars, and on the leaves of the branches which grew towards the east, to render them skilful leeches, in binding up, and healing the wounds they received in their battles. All their Runes, in their early state, save those just named, were sculptured on wood. They were known by the name of *Kiæfies*, and had their epithets according to their nature—as *Suartr* Runes, Black Runes, &c. And as in these days of their simplicity, all their buildings, all their temples, utensils, and implements about their altars, and their household ~~handels~~ were of wood—all—all perished in the wreck of time; so that we might as well say that as Pagans they had neither houses, nor hofs, nor temples, nor gods within them, because we can find none of their wooden remains at present.

“What is thus stated of the knot of Runic nations generally, may be also asserted of the Anglo-Saxons in particular. Ere they ever set a foot on our shores, they had a sculptured Runic literature of their own. Hence their “*Runstæfas*,” as a name for their Runic alphabet. Hence also their “*Bocstæfas*,” as a name transferred to their alphabets written on beech bark. Nay, “*Stæfas*” staves or sticks become synonymous with letters, and writing, from such being the earliest articles written upon. According to Mr. W. Grimm, the Anglo-Saxons brought their Runic characters into England, and at the same period, the same Runic character was used by the Nordalbingian Saxons.\* This fact appears quite evident from a comparison of the Anglo-Saxon Runic character with that given by Hrabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mains in the ninth century. For the reason assigned above, very few Anglo-Saxon inscriptions in the Runic character have escaped destruction, and exist at present.

“Among the few so fortunate, may be mentioned the following:—The Bewcaster Rune found on the pillar of a cross at that place, of which a copy is given in Wormius’s “*Monumenta Danicorum*,” Lib. iii. pp. 161—168, with an inaccurate reading and interpretation. A second is quoted in Hickey’s “*Gramatica Islandica*,” as being in the baptistery at Bride-kirk, in Cumberland, accompanied also with a reading and translation, neither very satisfactory. The late Dr. Hibbert Ware mentions a Runic inscription, as being in the church at Harkness. A fourth is the Ruthwell Inscription in Scotland. And the fifth is the inscription on the shaft of a cross dug up some years ago in LANCASTER Church-yard. These, perhaps, are all the Runic remains as inscriptions that have been discovered in Great Britain—besides the knots and devices on the pillars of mutilated crosses—whereon inscriptions, if such there have been, are either broken up or buried.

\* Vide W. Grimm’s *Deutsche Runen*, Gottingen, 1821.

"After the fragment of the cross containing the Runic inscription, which is the subject of this paper, was dug up, it was placed by order of the Vicar near the entrance to the Vicarage. In this place it continued for some time. By-and-bye, however, it found its way into Todhunter's Museum in Kendal. After the death of Todhunter, in 1835, the articles in his Museum were disposed of, the fragment was purchased for the late Dr. Holme, of Manchester, by one of his friends, and continued in his possession until his death. It then passed to the University College of London, as the Doctor's residuary legatee, and afterwards was generously given by the Council of the said College, to the Natural History Society's Museum, in the city of Manchester, where it now is carefully preserved in a glass case, as it deserves to be, for the inspection of the curious, and the gratification of antiquaries.

"With the assistance of Mr. Harland, of the Manchester Guardian newspaper, to whose skill in decyphering antiquities I have been before times indebted, and to which I bear testimony, the following copy of the characters has been made.

GIBIDDETH FO  
RECYNIBOL  
THCVTHBVRVC

Which may be thus translated, Pray ye for Cynibold Cuthburuc? The last three letters being obscure, renders the last word conjectural, so that whether it is an epithet appertaining to Cynibold, or a proper name coupled to it, is extremely uncertain.

"After all, to the majority of readers, this may be a subject of no importance. The remnants of Runic monuments throw no light on the history of the people who used them. They are mainly sepulchral memorials of a date not anterior to the 12th century. Be it so. No more light do Roman altars and inscriptions throw upon the history of the imperial city. Yet they have an interest in the eyes of many, because of their connexion with that nation, and the associations with its literature which they call forth. Why, then, not the memorials of the tribes from whom we ourselves are descended? Should the language, and habits, and customs of pagan Rome be of more moment in our estimation, than those of Saxon, Norse, and Dane? or do the engrafted words of effeminate Italy express better the ideas of the sons of Teutons and Scandinavians, than those of their own native stock and its branches, from their own hardy climate? In short, do we, and if we do, ought we, to speak a foreign language better than our own? We have hitherto, as a nation, paid more attention to classical literature than to our mother tongue, and thereby introduced into the latter, terms, and a phraseology sometimes quite at variance with its structure and idiom. Yet do what we may to refine it, as we conceive in this way—still for the purposes of speech, for vigour, energy of expression, for pure pathos, and all the other emotions of the mind and feelings, many of the dialects in the land which we despise, though spoken by our fathers of a few

generations before us—surpass the learned diction which we have borrowed from Greece and Rome, and dignified with the name of the standard classical style of our tongue.”\*

The carved stone, forming now the dial post, in *Halton* church-yard, is supposed by some antiquaries, to have been originally a *cross*, and is believed to be the work of the *Saxons* or *Danes*: on the side on which the *horse* is represented, three of the compartments are decorated with the fret or interlaced ornaments, which are attributed to the *Danes*; this is the northern aspect. On the other side, facing the west, there are three divisions, the upper one representing an angel, under a semicircular arch; below, two figures seated, each holding something in its hands, apparently a taper; the lowest under an elliptic arch, represents a *cross* between two figures of saints, standing on pedestals. The east side of the stone also represents figures, but which the ruthless hand of time has almost defaced. The southern aspect has fret or interlaced ornaments carved on it. The dimensions of this stone are, height nearly four feet; thickness, nearly two feet square. The upright stone is fixed in a socket of a single stone, cut into three steps.†

Among other *Danish* remains may be mentioned a curious tombstone, which was found in *St. Mary's* church-yard, in this town, without any legend, having only a *harp* engraven on it.

The old bridge over the *Lune* appears also to have been of *Danish* construction.

\* Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Proceedings and Papers: Session I., 1848—9, p.p. 121—128.

† Clark, p. 124, 125.



Several hundred silver coins were found in this neighbourhood, A.D. 1811, enclosed in an urn of the same metal. The legends of six of them have been published, though inaccurately described, yet sufficient appears to shew that they are coins of *Canute*, issued by five different *monetarii*, or mint-masters, at *York*.

Mr. *Todhunter*, of *Kendal*, had six of these coins. The following are the inscriptions given:—\*

1. <i>Obverse</i> , REX AN. ∴ CNVT.	<i>Reverse</i> , HILDOLF ∴ MOEOIFR.
2. „ REX ANG. ∴ CNVT.	„ FPIDCOLII ∴ OEOFR.
3. „ REX ANGL. ∴ CNVT.	„ IREN ∴ OEOCRDLT.
4. „ REX AN. ∴ CNVT.	„ IREN ∴ OEOFRDIC.
5. „ REX ANGLO ∴ CNVT.	„ SVNOLFI ∴ OEOFRI.
6. „ REX AN. ∴ CNV.	„ SVRTINCM ∴ ODEO.

*Canute* began his reign in A.D. 1017, and died A.D. 1036, having reigned nineteen years.

\* *Lonsdale Magazine*, vol. i., p. 192.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## NORMAN LANCASTER.

THE cruel devastations of the *Danes*, the destructive contests of the *Northumbrian* princes, and the vindictive policy of *William the Conqueror*, had reduced LANCASTER to so miserable a condition, "the city reduced to a village, and the *Roman* castrum little better than a ruin,"\* that a very indifferent account is given of it in *Domesday Survey*, which was begun A.D. 1081, and finished A.D. 1086. It is thus described in that ancient record:—

Manor. In Haltun (*Halton*) earl *Tosti* had six carucates† of land to be taxed. In Aldeclif (*Aldcliff*) two carucates; Tiernun (*Thurnham*) two carucates; Hillun (*Hillham*) one carucate; Loncastre (LANCASTER) six carucates; Chercalon-

\* Bp. Gastrell's Not. Cestr. vol. ii., p. 429.

† "In a note entered in an ancient record in the treasury, before a declaration made of the knights' fees belonging to the Bp. of Lincoln, are these words: Nota, quod *carucata* terræ continet in se c. acras. Et 8 *bovate* faciunt *carucatam*. Et quælibet *bovata* continet 15 acras. So, as I think, in those shires in *Domesday*, where no *hides* are named, but *carucata*, there the *carucata* containeth as much as *hida*, and that to be six score acres. But where there is *hida* named, and then saith thus, 'Dorsete Bixi miles E tenuit *Odetun* pro xii. hid. terra est 16 car. de eo sunt in dominio 4 *carucatæ*.' In this, and like places, I take it, that *caruc.* is to be referred to a plough-land, which is about three score acres.

castre (*Church-by-Lancaster*) two carucates; Hotun (*Hutton*) two carucates; Neutun (*Newton*) two carucates; Oureton (*Overton*) four carucates; Middeltun (*Middleton*) four carucates; Hietun (*Heaton*) four carucates; Hessam (*Heysham*) four carucates; Oxeneclif (*Oxcliff*) two carucates; Poltune (*Poulton*) two carucates; Torredholme (*Torrisholme*) two carucates; Schertun (*Skerton*) six carucates; Bare (*Bare*) two carucates; Slime (*Slyne*) six carucates; Bodeltone (*Bolton*) four carucates; Chellet (*Kellet*) six carucates; Stopeltierne (*Stapletontherne*) two carucates; Neuhuse (*Newsham*) two carucates; Chreneforde (*Carnforth*) two carucates. All these villages belong to Haltun (*Halton*).\*

A *hide* of land was both reputed before the conquest and since, six score acres."—*Appendix Hon. Richm.* p. 10.

"It followeth now to shew how much land belongeth to an acre; and that is set down both by statute, and yet divers measures, in divers places: for the measure is by pole. The table in the Star Chamber made 12 Hen. VII., by sundry of the Council of Commission, setteth down that an *acre* should be xl. poles in length and iv. poles in breadth: but how many *feet* the *gale* should contain, it mentioneth not. But this I find in the Arrentations of Assartes of Forrestes, made in Hen. III. and Ed. I. time, that for forrest ground, the Commissioners did let the land *per perticam* xx. *pedum*. But however the measuring of land hath been used before the conquest, it is not amiss to know at what time, since the conquest, it began to be ordered, how land should be measured, to avoid controversies. The first I read of is King Stephen, according to Knighton, in his x. chap., fol. 43, and for proof voucheth Cestrens. in lib. i., cap. 21. Next followed Henry II., whose actions continued in exercise until Ed. I. time.

"Signed, per me, ARTHURUM AGARDE."

"24 Nov., 1599."

—*Ibid.*, p. 11, 12.

\* a. In Haltun h'b' Comes Tosti vj car' t're ad g'ld'. In Aldecliff ij c. Tirenun j c. Hillun j c. Loncastre vj c. Chercaloncastre ij c. Hotun ij c. Neuton ij c. Oureton iiij c. Middeltun iiij c. Hietune iiij c. Hessam iiij c. Oxeneclif ij c. Poltune ij c. Toredholme ij c. Schertune vj c. Bare, ij c. Slime vj c. Bodeltone iiij c. Chellet vj c. Stopeltierne ij. c. Neuhuse ij c. Chreneforde ij.

Om'es he ville p'tinent ad Haltune (viz. xxiij ville).

The extensive and variegated district here surveyed was, at the time of *Domesday*, a portion of the *West Riding* of the county of *York*, not yet divided into wapentakes, and, by the forfeiture of its *Saxon* possessors, in the king's hands. As yet there was no county of LANCASTER or of *Westmoreland*; but at an uncertain, though not a very distant period afterwards, the wapentake of *Ewecross* was formed out of the mountainous tract to the east, and still continued a portion of *Yorkshire*. The present hundred of *Lonsdale*, north and south of the sands, together with *Amounderness*, were added to the "terra inter *Ripam et Mersham*," in order to form the county of LANCASTER; while the great parishes of *Kendal* and *Kirkby Lonsdale* together with those of *Winander Mere*, *Grasmere*, *Heversham*, *Bentham*, and *Burton* were allotted to *Westmoreland*. But the rural deaneries of *Kirkby Lonsdale* and *Kendal*, which are evidently of more ancient date than this distribution, pay no regard to it, and extend indifferently into the three counties above mentioned. The whole district was divided into six superior manors (or *honours*, as they would in later times have been denominated), namely, *Halton*, which numbered among its dependencies, LANCASTER itself, the entire peninsula between the *Lune* and the bay of *Morecambe*, with all the villages northward, as far as *Kellet* and *Carnforth*, twenty-two in number, and containing seventy-four carucates: all these are enumerated, whether by design or mistake, as a *manor*. Next is *Whittington*, with its dependencies, consisting of fifteen villages, which extended from its immediate vicinity through

all *Upper Lunesdale* to the northern extremity of the parish of *Sedbergh*: these contained fifty-six carucates. Both these honours belonged to earl *Tosti*. The third general division is *Oustewich*, or *Austwic*, embracing a considerable portion of *Ewe-cross* wapentake, but extending itself very irregularly along, and even beyond the *Lune*, as far as *Mansergh*. This tract consisted of thirteen villages, twelve manors, and forty-three geldable carucates.\*

The same record informs us that *Roger of Poictou*† fixed the seat of his barony at LANCASTER, and was building his castle there, soon after the conquest.

\* Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 208.

† ROGER OF POICTOU, OR PICTAVENSIS.—“The vast estates in Lunesdale and Amounderness, which, soon after the date of Domesday, fell into the hands of Roger of Poictou, were not the first possessions with which the Conqueror enriched that great baron, in the north of England. These were all remaining (excepting Hornby and Melling) at that period in the crown; and Roger, already possessed of the greater part of Craven and of Blackburnshire, had already founded the castle of Clitheroe, as the fortress and capital of the latter. But with his possessions, his views expanded. Clitheroe was little more than a square tower of small dimensions, with a ballium, surrounded by single walls, and little adapted to the accommodation of a great baron. But in surveying his more northern territories on the banks of the Lune, another site adapted to a permanent residence, presented itself. Surrounded by a fertile country, on the banks of a navigable river, and (what was always a principal object in choosing the sites of great castles) commanding a widely extended view of his own new domains, the Norman chief must have been struck by a green and shapely knoll, begirt even then by the conspicuous remains of Roman fortifications, including the relics of a Saxon church, which would afford ample materials for his projected work. Out of these, unquestionably, and on the very crown of the hill, the massy tower, which now seems to look down with scorn on the puny mimicries of modern art, was first raised in a stile of solidity which emulates the duration even of Roman masonry. To this provision for immediate security and comfort, together with its usual and necessary ballium and gateway, was added, in no long time after (perhaps even at the same time) a second church, for the site of which, respect, then so

## The Castle.

Having referred to the CASTLE, it may save trouble to continue its history in this place, rather than break the thread of the narrative by the introduction of incidental notices respecting it, in their strictly chronological order. Speaking of castles in general, Mr. *Grose* remarks:—"Very few of them are of higher antiquity than the Conquest, for though the ancient *Britons* might have castles, yet they were few in number, and at that period, those they had were, either through neglect or invasion, so decayed or destroyed, that little more than their ruins remained: but after that time they multiplied so fast that, towards the latter end of the reign of King Stephen, they amounted to

powerful, to local and ancient sanctity, would point out the area of the first.

"The protection of a fortress almost always produced a town; the inhabitants of which, originally stiled *burgesses* from their situation only, gradually acquired extensive privileges and a municipal jurisdiction, from the indulgence of their lords; and it was undoubtedly from the previous existence of a strong and roomy castle, though far from being conveniently situated for the purpose, that when the county of Lancaster was afterwards combined out of certain portions of the county of York, northward from Ribble, and the whole of the territory between Ribble and Mersey, which had belonged to no county, southward; Lancaster became the capital of the new district: a distinction which it still enjoys. And if the inhabitants of that pleasant, but not very populous or opulent town, are ever disposed to murmur that they have never flourished like some of their southern neighbours, not equally dignified with themselves; let them look up to those magnificent towers with which their borough is ducally crowned, and let them be thankful to the founders, that the place is anything more than a hamlet, occupied by fishermen and shepherds. Even with these advantages, the town was little better than such a hamlet in the time of Camden; and an attentive eye will scarcely discover, in the oldest remaining buildings, any vestiges of architecture prior to the time of Charles II.—*Whitaker's Richm.*, vol. ii., p. 216, 217.

the almost incredible number of 1115. These castles became the heads of baronies; each castle was a manor, and the castellan or governor was the lord of that manor. Markets and fairs were directed to be held within the jurisdiction of their castles; and justice was administered, and the laws dispensed by their governors. It was not long, however, before this privilege was abused. These governors having the power of life and death, were not contented with the legal exercise of that power, but extended their dominion over property, and arbitrarily extorted whatever they thought necessary from those who dwelt within their jurisdictions. In process of time, the oppressions of these lords of castles became so grievous, that a law was made for the demolition of many, and for the due regulation of the rest. On the accession of *Henry II.* to the throne, a stop was put to the erection of castles, except for national defence; and then, if not before, castle guard became a part of the knight's service, by which the barons held their estates. This service was afterwards commuted for annual rent, and that rent was most rigorously exacted by the officers appointed to collect it. The royal castles, by this means, soon became deserted, and the care of them was committed to the sheriffs, who often converted them into prisons, some of them remaining so to this day. The construction of the manor castles varied according to the taste or humour of the builder; those built for the public defence, presented some kind of uniformity, indeed, in the ground plan, but varied

likewise in the erection, and according to the situation of the ground on which they were built.\*

We will arrange our remarks under the heads of the Castle *ancient*, and the Castle *modern* :—

**THE CASTLE, ANCIENT.**—This majestic edifice, when entire, must have been one of the noblest remains of antiquity of which this kingdom could boast, but it now presents only a faint resemblance of what it was in its former glory. The elevation of the site, and the magnificence of the front, strike the imagination with the idea of a place of much strength, beauty, and importance; and such it has ever been from its foundation, on the arrival of the Romans in these parts. An eminence of swift descent, that commands the fords of a great tiding river, would not be neglected by so able a general as Agricola; and accordingly he occupied this eminence in the summer of his second campaign, and of the Christian era 79, and here he erected a station to secure his conquests, and the passes of the river, whilst he proceeded with his army across the bay of Morecambe into Furness. The green mount on which the castle stands, has been supposed by some to be an artefactum of the Romans.† The Roman castrum was on the site of the present castle, the camp being an ellipsis, with a double wall and moat round the summit of the hill, part of which latter remains. From the foundations which have been discovered, and from two round towers hereafter to be mentioned, it is evident that the erection, as formed by the Romans, was a polygon, perhaps a heptagon, the towers of which were distant about twenty-seven paces, joined by open galleries. In this state, it is supposed to have remained until the year 440.

The tower at the south-west corner is usually ascribed to the Emperor Hadrian, about the year 122. The lower portion of this tower contained an oven, formerly in use by the garrison; the upper part a mill, and the original circular staircase, with its broken steps, still remains.

The "Well Tower" may have been built on the site of one destroyed by the Caledonians, in their irruptions, after the departure of the Romans. When the workmen were digging the foundation of the great boundary wall on the north side of the castle, the ground work of an ancient tower was discovered.‡ The curtain containing a covered way to the "Dungeon Tower," on the left, has been carried over on the side next the debtors' yard, and is hidden from view outside the castle, by a wall built round the female convicts' yard, one side of which is formed by the old structure.

\* "The Antiquities of England and Wales: being a collection of the most remarkable Ruins and Ancient Buildings, accurately drawn, on the spot. To each view is added a historical account of its situation, when and by whom built, with every interesting circumstance relating thereto. Collected from the best authorities, by Francis Grose, esq., F.A.S."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1775, p. 507.

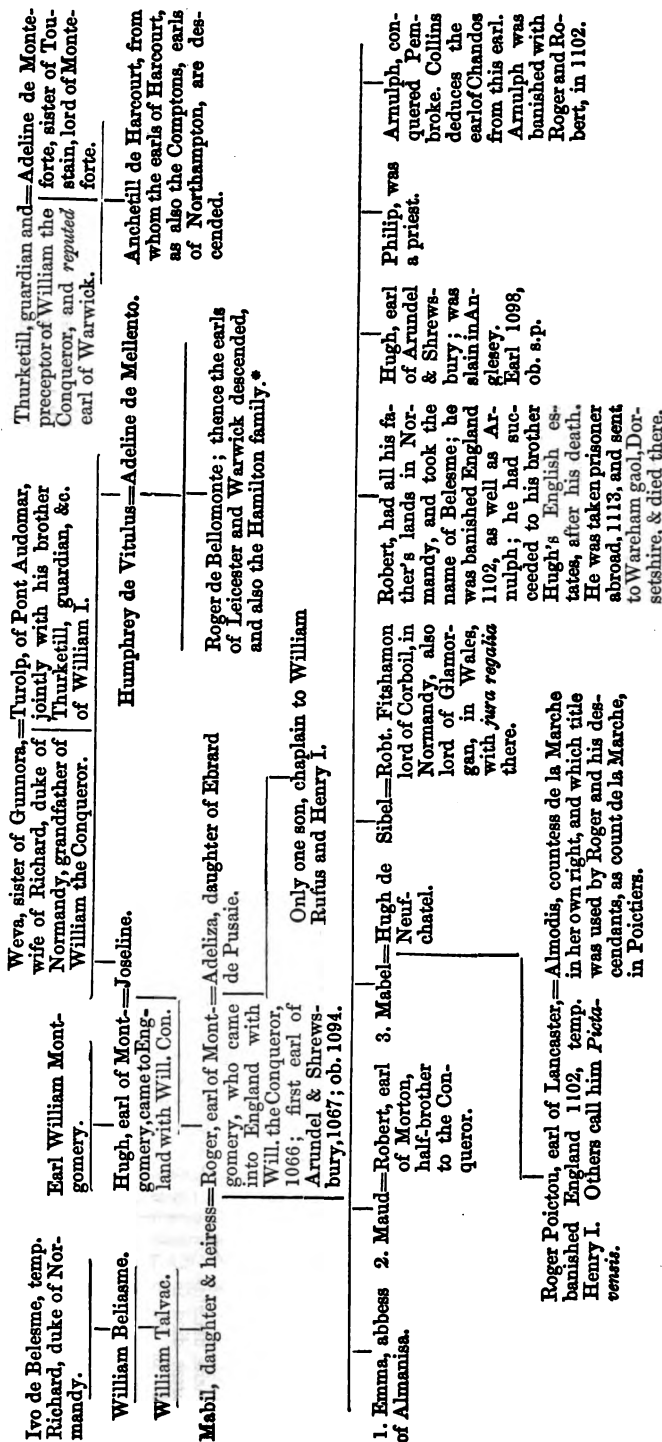
† West's Guide to the Lakes, p. 9.

‡ Clark, p. 17.





# Pedigree and Genealogy of Roger de Poitou, Lord of the Manor of Lancaster.



\* This Roger was of the council that formed the invasion of the realm; and led the centre at the famous battle of Hastings. He built the tower of Babel Abbey. He was also earl of Chichester, as well as Arundel.—*Beanes*, vol. I., p. 119.

# Pedigree of the Earls of Lancaster of the Royal House of Plantagenet.

Aveline, daughter and heiress=1. Edmund, surnamed Crouchback,=Blanche, Queen Dowager of William de Foribus, earl 2nd son of Henry III., earl of Lancaster, 1267. Earl of Chester and of Robert count D'Artois. Leicester; steward of England. Marr. 1276; died 4 May. Died 28 Edward I., 1297.

Thomas, 2nd earl of Lancaster, earl of=Alice, daughter and co-heiress, Lincoln, and Derby; at-tainted and beheaded 1322; ob. s.p. ob. 1348.

Henry, 3rd earl of Lancaster, earl of=Maud, daughter and heiress of sir Patrick Chaworth, knt. Leicester, Lincoln, and Derby, brother and heir of Thomas, second earl, restored 1327; died 20 Edward III., 1345.

Henry, 4th earl and 1st duke of Lancaster, earl of Leicester and=Isabella, daughter of Derby; created earl of Derby, 16 March, 1337; K.G. steward of England; created duke of Lancaster 6 March, 1361; died at Leicester, 1361.

1, Blanche, daughter and=John of Gaunt, 2nd duke of Lancaster,=2, Constance, eldest daughter co-heiress, died in 1369, earl of Richmond, 4th son of Edw. III. and co-heiress of Peter the buried in St. Paul's, was K.G., &c. In 1362, he did write himself, earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leon. 3, Katherine Swyn-Leicester. Died in 1399.

Henry, earl of Derby, 1380; afterwards 3rd duke of Lancaster,=Mary, daughter and co-heiress and king of England, by the style of Henry IV., when the earldom of Derby, and duchy of Lancaster, became merged in the crown.

Henry V., &c.

\* Sir Oswald Mosley's History of the Castle, Priory, and Town of Tutbury.

John, ob. s.p.

Blanch=Thos., lord Wake of Lydell.

Maud=1 William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and 2, Ralph, lord Stafford.

Eleanor=1 John, lord Beaumont; 2, Richard Fitz Allen, earl of Arundel.

Joan=John, lord Mowbray. Isabel, abb. of Ambresbury. Mary=lord Percy.

Maud, daughter and co-heiress, married 1st, Ralph, son and heir of lord Stafford; and 2ndly, William, duke of Zealand; died 26 Edward III., 1362.



About the history of the "Well Tower" considerable doubts have arisen: some ascribing it to the Romans, and to Constantine Chlorus, about A.D. 305; others to the Saxons. A round tower, similar to Hadrian's, was taken down to make room for the new erections. Some writers believe that there were formerly seven of these round towers.\*

The long curtain connecting the "Lungess" and "Well Towers," was taken down after the Governor's house was finished, and a wooden barricade erected, while the new time wards were being made. During a severe storm, a portion of this wood work was blown down whilst the workmen were at dinner. A rush being immediately made by the prisoners and debtors through the gap, a number got through, who turned to the right hand towards the town, where the new wall was nearly completed, leaving no mode of exit. Mr. Higgin, at that time governor, immediately proceeded to the spot, armed with his sword, and stood in the gap, until assistance was procured from the town, when the men were all found secreted in the new works then in course of erection. Had the men turned to the left hand, they would have effected their escape, as the gate used by workmen and carters was on that side. The large square keep, called the "Lungess Tower," is partly of Saxon, and partly of Norman structure. The foundations, which are of immense strength, are Saxon, the superstructure Norman, having been built by Roger de Poitou. This tower is seventy-eight feet high, the turret of which is, called "*John of Gaunt's Chair*," is ten feet higher, and commands an extensive view of the Irish sea, the Cumberland and Westmoreland hills, the sands in Morecambe bay, and the adjacent country: this tower has, on some occasion or other, been half demolished. The original windows are small and round headed, and ornamented with plain, short pillars. On the north side of this tower are to be seen the following letters 

E	R
R	A
1555	

 signifying that in that year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and when Roger Ashton was sheriff, this portion was restored. It has been conjectured that the repairs effected by Roger Ashton extended along the line from the "Lungess" to "Hadrian's Tower." At the back of this keep there was a round tower, upon the site of which is placed the present grand jury room. Underneath the present "Crown Hall;" whilst the alterations were being made, a subterranean passage was discovered, leading westward, which, in consequence of the architect's perverseness, was not allowed to be searched. It is now built over, and lost for ever. Going up the steps towards the place where the old crown hall stood, are six cells of immense strength, with iron gratings, and thick oaken doors, which can still be seen, and which belong to the very earliest period of the castle's history.

The last tower that remains to be described is that called the "Dun-geon," which appears to have been of undoubted Roman origin; it was taken down in 1818. It is computed that 1500 years and more have intervened since its first erection. The floor was formed of stones about

\* Clark, p. 11.

two feet in length, and six or eight inches square, set on end, and bound together with iron, thus forming a sort of pavement. The stone work rested on a bed of solid marl, about three feet in thickness. Beneath the bed of marl, a number of horses' teeth have been discovered. The teeth, it may be added, are found very plentifully in other departments of the castle. The lower rooms of this tower were formerly occupied by prisoners, inhumanly crowded together in so small a place that the turnkeys were accustomed, each morning, to open the doors some time before they dared to enter—the noxious exhalations being so deadly, and the heat of the atmosphere so great. As might be expected, dysentery, fever, and diarrhoea were seldom absent from the inmates. In the year 1812, this tower was taken down, and the Female Penitentiary built on its site, after designs furnished by Mr. P. H. Higgin.

**HISTORY OF.**—On the Romans, withdrawing from England, the castle was attacked by a body of Scots, in a predatory invasion, and taken after a severe resistance. On the retirement of these marauders, they demolished the defences, and destroyed portions of the towers. After the establishment of the Northumbrian kingdom the walls were repaired, the fortifications improved, and the town rebuilt.

During the seventh century, **LANCASHIRE** was finally subdued by the Saxons, and **LANCASTER** rose in importance, becoming the county town. From this period until the time of the Norman Conquest, nothing is known regarding the owners or possessors of the castle, but soon after the subjugation of England, at the close of William the First's reign, or early in the reign of his successor, the castle was granted, *inter alia*, to Roger de Poitou, a Norman baron, who proceeded to erect the large keep, or "Lungess Tower." It afterwards fell to the crown, and about the year 1199, being held in trust, by the brother of John for that monarch, was besieged and taken by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom it was again rebuilt and restored to its ancient strength. In 1206, the castle and honour, appear to have been in the possession of Ranulph Blundel, earl of Chester, and was endowed with more than its original strength and splendour. At this time it was surrounded by a moat, with a draw-bridge in front, and portcullis at the entrance gate,\* made of thick wrought iron; flanked by two octagonal turrets: the entrance defended by overhanging battlements, supported by a triple range of corbels, cut in form of boulders, the intervals pierced through for the descent of missiles. On each side there are two small turrets or watchtowers; this tower is near sixty-six feet high.† It subsequently passed into the hands of the Earls of Chester, but early in the first and eighth years of Henry III., A.D. 1216 and 1224, was held in charge for king Henry III. by William de Ferrers, earl of Derby, after having been given up under threat of excommunication to Hubert archbishop of Canterbury. Henry III., A.D. 1267, presented Edmund Crouchback, his younger son, with the earldom, town, and castle of Lancaster, and from this period the county assizes were held here.

\* The Gate Houses are distinct works.

† Clark, p. 19.

In 1322, after the defeat of Edward II., by Robert Bruce, the castle successfully resisted the Scottish army, which advancing about twelve miles south of the town, burnt, pillaged, and destroyed the country around. The town was given to the flames, and the castle received much damage.

In 1350, Henry, the nephew of Edmund Crouchback, was by the king's special charter, and by general consent of parliament, created first duke of Lancaster, being the second duke created in England. His daughter Blanche married John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III. who was afterwards created by his father duke of Lancaster, A.D. 1362; the county at the same time being made a Palatinate. After this creation, and during the reign of Edward III., the gateway tower was erected by John of Gaunt,\* a statue of whom, by Claude Nimmo (a working mason), now occupies a niche over the entrance. This tower was formerly guarded with gates and a portcullis, the grooves of which remain. On each side of the statue are sculptured shields, the one containing the lions of England quartered with the lilies of France, as claimed by Edward III, in right of his mother; the other the arms of England with a lable ermine of three points, the distinction of John of Gaunt. The town, already the centre of the wealth and importance of the duchy, itself a little principality, became distinguished by the splendour of the court, and enriched by the wealth distributed in the tournaments, which in these palmiest days of chivalry were held here.

When Henry IV. came to the throne, he held his court for some time in the castle, where he resided about A.D. 1409, subsequently bestowing the dukedom of Lancaster, on his son, afterwards Henry V.

During the wars of the Red and White Roses, the castle passed into the hands of both opposing parties, but after the seizure of the throne by Edward IV., it gradually sank into decay, until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when on the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada, extensive repairs were made, and the fortifications put into a defensible condition. In this state it remained until the breaking out of the wars of the Commonwealth, when the castle was attacked and taken by the Parliamentary forces, under Cromwell, a breach being made in the curtain joining the towers on the south, connecting the "Square" or "Dungeon Tower" with the "Gateway Tower." Here was the weak point selected by Cromwell, in which to make a breach, his battering train being placed in position on a hill near Haverbricks, about half-a-mile distant, where are still seen the parapets on which the guns were mounted.

When Cromwell's horse defeated the Scottish army and the Royalists near Preston, in 1648, Sir Thomas Tildesley, on behalf of the king, was blockading the castle, the garrison of which he had reduced to great distress, but the defeat of the united forces compelled him to raise the siege, and retire into the bishopric of Durham.

From this period the history of this famous edifice passes into that which attaches to it as a gaol for the county.

\* This erection has been ascribed to John earl of Moreton, who was a great benefactor to the town.

GOVERNORS OF.—In the time of William the Conqueror, Roger de Poitou was the owner and governor of this fortress. To him succeeded his elder brother, Robert de Belesme, the powerful and turbulent earl of Arundel and Surrey, who held this castle during the remainder of the reign of William the Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry I.\* Taillebois, baron of Kendal, appears to have held this castle. William de Taillebois, in the reign of Henry II., obtained leave to take the surname of Lancaster. Hence it has been imagined, that the barons of Kendal either built or repaired the ancient castle in which they resided, until they erected upon the site of the station of Concangium their castle at Kendal. The remains of some of the bastions *there* agree in style with the towers *here*.† A grant of the custody of Lancaster castle was made by Henry II. to Warin, son of Gilbert, brother of William de Lancaster.‡ In 1 John, by charter, the custody of the prison gate was committed to Warinus Jointor, or Janitor, so called, probably, on account of his office.§ In 1202, Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid paid ten marks for two palfreys, for a confirmation of his charter; and in 1205, he obtained from King John the possession of the honour of Lancaster, and executed the office of High Sheriff of that county in the years 1206 and 1226 respectively; but uniting with the other barons of the realm in their attempts to obtain the Magna Charta, he lost the custody of the honour and castle of Lancaster: which, in 1206, was conferred upon Edmund Crouchback, who obtained also the possessions between the Mersey and Ribble, and thus concentrated the great honours and domains of the county.||

Robert de Gredlai, baron of Manchester, by letters from the king, dated June 25, was discharged of the ward of Lancaster castle.¶ The following year, the castle and honour appear to have been in the possession of Ranulph Blundeville, earl of Chester,\*\* who continued to hold it until the reign of Henry III. A.D. 1209, November 3, a writ was issued to Ranulph, (constable of Chester) Roger de Manbeg (baron of Hornby), Robert de Greidley, and William Butler, directing them to provide men for the construction of the moats and fosses of Lancaster castle.†† A.D. 1216, Adam de Yealand was commanded to deliver to Ranulph, constable of Chester, immediate possession of the castle of Lancaster, with the county, and all its appurtenances, to ward, during the Royal pleasure.‡‡ To the same Adam de Yealand, in the following month, the king committed the castle of Robert de Gresley, of Mainecestre, with all its appurtenances, and all the said Robert's lands within Lyme, to hold during the king's pleasure.§§ At this time, Robert de Gresley had joined the rebellious barons.||| In 1222, John Travers appears to have been keeper of the castle, since to him was directed, in

\* Pat. Rot. 5, Edward I., m. 13.

† Kuerden, fol. MSS., p. 218.

‡ Baines, vol. iv., p. 493.

\*\* Beauties of England and Wales, vol. ix., p. 57.

‡‡ Rot. Lit. Pat. 17 John, m. 9 and m. 3.

||| Baines, ii., p. 173.

† West's Guide to the Lakes, p. 10.

§ Rot. Chart., 1 John, m. 4, n. 21.

¶ Rot. Lit. Claus., 6 John m. 21.

†† Rot. Pat. 10, John, m. 3.

§§ Ibid. m. 9.



that capacity, a royal writ, to seize the rent of a house standing before the castle ("domum ante castrum"), two shillings, and other monies of Thomas, earl of Lancaster and other rebels.\* In 1223, William, earl Ferrars, the sixth in lineal descent from Robert de Ferrars (raised by King Stephen, to the earldom of Derby, for his prowess at the battle of the Standard, fought on the 23rd of August, 1138), having married Agnes, third sister and co-heiress of Ranulph, earl of Chester, who died leaving no issue, became in right of this marriage, possessed of all the lands between Ribble and Mersey, which were apportioned to Agnes, and in the year 1223, was constituted governor, and made custos of the castle and honour of Lancaster. On 20th Sept., 1247, this earl died, and his countess in the month following, having lived together as man and wife, for the extraordinary period of seventy-five years.† In 1225, Ranulph de Blundeville, appears to have been governor of this castle. In 1267, Edmund, brother of the king, held the castle and honour of Lancaster;‡ and in 1268, the custody was committed to Roger de Lancaster,§ who is styled in the Register of Furness, "Rogerus bastardus, frater Willielmi," ancestor of the Lancasters at Ridal and other places.|| In 1285, the town, honour, and castle of Lancaster, which had been conferred on him, with all their appurtenances, and other ample possessions, by Henry III., to be held of himself and others, heirs of his body,¶ were conferred by 13 Edward I., on Edmund Crouchback, who held them, with other castles and honours, by the payment of three knights' fees.\*\* In 1292, 20 Edward I., the king sued his brother Edmund for the castle and honour of Lancaster, the wapentake of Amounderness, and the manors of Preston, Rygely, and Singleton, which Edmund claimed by charter, from King Henry, their father. The pleadings were adjourned to Appleby, in the octaves of St. Michael.†† In 25 Edward I., A.D. 1297, we meet with an Inquisitio post mortem, respecting the extent, &c., of the castle at Lancaster.‡‡ Edmund died about the feast of Pentecost, 1296, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Thomas, then a minor, who, 1291, marched with King Edward I. into Scotland; being the sheriff of Lancashire by inheritance, as are the earls of Thanet still hereditary sheriffs of the neighbouring county of Westmoreland, he substituted Richard de Hoghton as his deputy in office. This earl having entered into a combination against Piers de Gaveston, the king's favourite, which terminated in actual rebellion, and having suffered a signal defeat at the battle of Borough-bridge, was brought to Pontefract, tried, convicted, condemned, and executed, for high treason, in 1322. At this period Adam de Hodleston appears to have held the escheats of Lancaster castle.§§ In 17 and 18 Edward II., we meet with the following entries, "17 Edw. I. Ingelramus de Guynes et Xtiana uxor ejus Lancast'

\* Regist. S. Marie, MS. fo. 77.

† Baines, iv., 494.

‡ Rot. Chart., 51 Henry III., m. 4.

§ Rot. Pat., 52 Henry III., n. 5.

|| Baines, iv., 499.

¶ Baines, iv., 494.

\*\* Rot. Chart. 13 Edward I., n. 23.

†† Placit. de Quo Warr. 20 Edward I. Lanc. Rot.

‡‡ Inquis. p. m., eod. ann.

§§ Escheats, eod. ann.

Ward' reddit'," and again, 18 Edw. I., "Rob'tus de Wessington et Isha' ux' ejus—Kerneaforde mane' dimid' extent' p' servic' duor' den' pro warda cestre Lancastr'."\* In the year 1326, Henry, earl of Lancaster, the brother and heir of Thomas, obtained an Act dated 1 Edw. III., 7 March, for reversing the attainder of his brother, on the ground that he had not been tried by his peers, and thereupon came into possession of all his honours, lands, and lordships, particularly the earldoms of Leicester and Lancaster, and all the lands thereto appertaining. This earl died in 1345, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who, 35 Edward III., 1361, was created duke of Lancaster. The castles of Lancaster and Leicester formed, alternately, the residence of this great prince, who surpassed all the subjects of his time in power and fortune. This note appears in the Escheats for this year, Henry earl of Lancaster, "pro divers' reddit' et repris' exeunt' de (inter alia) Lancastr' castr' et honor'." In the reign of Edward III., the office of "Constable of the castell of Lancaster, with an annuity of xx. marks," was granted to Thomas Ratcliffe.† In 1469, Lord Hastings, chamberlain to Edward IV., appears to have held possession of this castle.‡ In 1485, 1 Henry VII., the act of resumption preserved to Thomas Ratcliff, the office of constable of the castle of Lancaster, with an annuity of twenty marks, or the same salary as was allowed to his ancestor, Thomas Ratcliff, in the reign of Edward III.§ In 1691, Thomas Covell was appointed keeper, who died in 1639, having been the keeper of this castle for forty-eight years. We meet with the following names of persons connected with this castle :—||

.... John Beardsworth	1749 Edmand Styth.	*1779 John Higgin.
1713 Thos. Tydaley.	.... James Styth.	*1783 John Higgin, jun.
1716 John Beardsworth	1764 Henry Braker.	*1833 James Hansbrow
1747 Anthony Helme.	*1779 John Dane. died.	

1811, Thomas Butterworth Bailey, Esq., of Hope, near Manchester. Alexander Butler, Esq., of Kirkland and Cote. In 18... the constablenesship of Lancaster Castle was vested in Sir Richard Clayton, baronet, of Adlington, in this county; who was succeeded by the present constable, William Hulton, Esq., of Hulton Park, in this county.

**THE CASTLE MODERN.**—The next era of renovation was during the shrievalty of Ralph Ashton, Esq., in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Philip of Spain menaced England with invasion, and a stone in the battlement of the Lungess tower marks the period by this inscription E. R. 1585. R. A. At this time the castle was rather a fortress than a baronial residence.

Most of the buildings abutting on the castle-yard are modern, and date from 1788. On the right, as we enter, the Governor's house was

\* Escheats, eisdem annis.

† Rot. Parl., vol. vi., n. 13, p. 257.

‡ Baines vol. iv. 502.

§ Baines, vol. iv. p. 502.

|| Those marked thus \* are the Keepers of the castle,

built (between the Gateway and Well tower) in a position which commands a view of the whole of the castle-yard, the inside of the yard being built up uniformly with the keeper's house. On the south side of the court, viz., to our left, we have first a prison for female debtors, built in 1793, and extending from the gateway to the penitentiary. It is separated from the rest of the prison by a range of iron palisades. The female Penitentiary comes next—a lofty and commodious tower on the west side of the castle-yard, commenced in July, 1818, and finished in 1821. It occupies part of the site of the Dungeon tower, which was taken down in 1819. Over the entrance is a full-length figure of Justice. The Penitentiary is six stories high. In the higher rooms the women may be found at their daily tasks of weaving calico, making and mending linen, teasing hair, picking cotton, &c. The cells and day-rooms, like every other part of the castle occupied by the prisoners, are models of cleanliness. A room in the building is appropriated to the improvement of the prisoners in the rudiments of learning.

From the Penitentiary we are conducted, across the castle-yard, to the male criminals' prison, having the male debtors' portion of the building on our left. The privacy of the debtors is respected as much as possible, and this part of the castle is not usually shown to visitors.

After ringing at a gate on the north side of the yard the visitor is conducted through a stone passage, on the right of which is the kitchen, in which is the culinary steam apparatus for preparing the prisoners' food; leaving this place we find ourselves at the entrance of the male criminals' ward. The barriers formed by the iron palisading at this point are extremely well contrived for preventing surprise, and a tumultuous rush of prisoners, in case of any attempt to escape. The male criminals' part consists of four airy and well-flagged courts, two of which have each a tread mill. The first tread mill was set up in October, 1822. These are employed in raising water for the crown side, and in impelling calico weaving-looms, at which other prisoners are employed. These buildings and cells are built of hewn stone without timber, and are fire proof.

We now approach the prison chapel. This is within the Great Tower, the enormous strength of which may be judged from the massiveness of the walls here ten feet thick. The chapel is not large and has a gloomy appearance; a partition separates the sexes, which prevents them from seeing each other. The gallery is open to the debtors, whose attendance however, is optional. The cell or pew for condemned criminals is on the north side of the chapel: and, could every spot of ground (to borrow the idea of Wordsworth) give up the feelings and woes of those who have trodden it, how many an unwritten tragedy and inarticulate agony of fear and despair would not this condemned cell bear witness to. A small library of religious and instructive works for the use of the prisoners is attached to the chapel; and the schoolmaster here also teaches the younger portion of the prisoners, and the older ones who are willing to learn, to read and to write.

A winding staircase of low narrow stone steps at the S.W. angle of the Great Tower leads to other apartments occupied by the male crown prisoners. The old Shire Hall a lofty and spacious room with a deeply recessed window and strong iron bars is contained in the Great Tower, and is now used as an airy and most excellent hospital. The old Crown Court is west of the debtors' arcade and is now occupied by the Duchy Court and Council Room. Adjoining it are two apartments of great size and height, called the Howard and Hanway rooms, used for sleeping rooms for the better conducted felons, and well ventilated. These rooms border on the male debtors' portion of the building. A. D. 1777, the philanthropic Howard published the following remarks on this prison:—"The gaoler has no salary; debtors' fees, 8s. : felons, 13s. 4d. ; and transports £5 each. The debtors' and felons' allowance 1s. each on Saturday morning; debtors' garnish 7s. 2d. and that of felons 2s. 6d. The chaplain does duty twice on the Sunday, and once every Wednesday and Friday; and has a salary of £50 yearly; £36 of which are paid by the county, £4 from the duchy, and £10 from a charity. The master's side debtors have many apartments; men and women felons have their day rooms apart, at the upper end of the yard; women sleep in their day room; men for their night rooms have two vaulted cells. One of the rooms for the debtors is called the Quaker's room, because it is said, when those people were so cruelly persecuted in the last century, vast numbers of them were confined in it." To the east of the Great Tower is the misdemeanour department, containing several workshops, where knitting, weaving, clogging, tailoring, shoe-making, hammock making, &c., are carried on, the whole presenting a most interesting and lively scene of industry. Many of the prisoners here are employed at their own trades. The modern portions of these buildings were erected in 1793.

A winding staircase conducts to the summit of the Great Tower. The only turret of this tower remaining is one called John o'Gaunt's chair. The view from this commanding elevation is thus described by the authoress of the "Mysteries of Udolpho." "Overlooking the Lune and its green slopes, the eye ranges to the bay of the sea beyond, and to the Cumberland and Lancashire mountains. On an island near the extremity of the peninsula of Furness, the double point of Peel Castle stands up from the sea, but is so distant that it resembles a forked rock. This peninsula, which separates the bay of Ulverstone from the Irish channel, swells gradually into a pointed mountain called Black Combe, thirty miles from Lancaster, the first in the amphitheatre that binds the bay. Hence a range of lower, but more broken and forked summits, extends northwards to the fells of High Furness, rolled behind each other—huge, towering, and dark; then, higher still, Langdale Pikes, with a profusion of other fells that crown the head of Windermere and retire towards Keswick, whose gigantic mountains Helvellyn and Saddleback, are, however, sunk in the distance, below the horizon of the nearer ones. The top of Skiddaw may be discerned when the air

is clear, but is too far off to appear with dignity. From Windermere Fells the heights soften towards the vale of Lonsdale, on the east side of which Ingleborough rears his rugged front, the loftiest and the most majestic in the scene. The nearer country from this point of the landscape is intersected with cultivated hills, between which the Lune wends its bright but shallow stream, falling over a weir, and passing under a very handsome stone bridge at the entrance of the town, in its progress to the sea. A ridge of rocky eminences shelters Lancaster on the east, whence they decline into the low and uninteresting country that stretches to the channel."\*

On the east side of the castle, near the vestiges of Adrian's Tower, is the Record office of the duchy and county palatine. The apartment in which the archives of the county were kept is called John o'Gaunt's Oven, and is thirty-eight feet high.

The new Crown and County Courts are on the north-west and north sides of the castle. They are approached by a beautiful terrace of stone, and present an extensive frontage of modern Gothic architecture. The Crown Court is a square and lofty hall, opened August 1796, and will contain 1600 persons. The entrance for the public is along a stone passage, and under a deep arch up a few stone steps. The spectator is now at the extremity of the court, in the portion open to the public. To approach the barristers and the body of the court we must descend to the level of the floor by a flight of steps, which extends along the entire breadth of the Hall. The Court is lighted by a dome over the barristers' table, which opens to a roof of decorated oak. The accommodations for the grand and petit juries, the bar, etc. are very complete and well arranged. The seat for the judges is surmounted by profusely adorned wood-work, above which is a large painting (by Northcote) of George III. in military uniform, and on horseback; in the distance is a view of the ducal castle of Lancaster. This picture was the gift of James Ackers, esq., during his shrievalty. There are two galleries on each side, one of which, on the right of the judge, is usually set apart for the ladies who may be attracted to the Assize Court. The prisoners are brought to the Court by a dark subterranean passage leading from the interior of the castle. The apartment at the end of this passage, where the prisoners wait until called for trial, has received the name of "the sweating room." At the back of the dock, in the Crown Court is the "Hold-fast," into which were put the left hands of those ordered to be "burnt in the hand." The punishment was inflicted in open court. The new Crown Court was opened at the August assizes, 1796.

It is the custom for the senior judge to preside at the Crown Court of the county palatine. If the Lord Chief Justice or Lord Chief Baron come the northern circuit, he always takes his seat in the Crown Court here. If two puisne judges take this circuit (which is usually the case, the laborious duties of the northern circuit usually falling to the lot of

\* Mrs. Radcliffe's Tour to the Lakes.

the younger judicial personages), the senior judge may always be found in the Criminal Court at Lancaster, and the junior in the *Nisi Prius*.

The Shire Hall and *Nisi Prius* Court is a most elegant structure. It is formed by the moiety of a space of fourteen equal sides. The roof is supported by seven clustered columns of four single shafts each, which spring into Gothic arches of great lightness and beauty. The ceiling is of stone open work. Here, as in the Crown Court, the body of the Court is raised along the whole breadth by broad steps. The east side of the Hall is ornamented by an alcove of tracery-work, terminating in finials, foliage, and miniature turrets. Over this is a window of stained glass, on one side of which is a portrait of Colonel Stanley, and on the other, of John Blackburne, esq., for many years the representatives of the county of Lancaster in parliament. These paintings were presented by the late Sir Robert Peel, bart. This court is calculated to hold two thousand persons. It was opened in August, 1798.

The room appropriated to the deliberations of the Grand Jury, which is evidently an imitation of the chapter houses of the cathedrals, and the Recorder's room, are in the same style as that of the court; the latter is circular, with a handsome cupola, and lighted from above. The view from the towers is very extensive; and the new bridge before mentioned (built by Mr. Harrison, the able architect who also conducted the transformation of the castle), appears here to very great advantage. A walk surrounded with a stone balustrade runs round the castle, which presents several points whence the environs of the city [sic] may be seen.\*

At an angle between the two great courts, is a room provided for the Chancery Court for the county palatine. There are also offices for the Prothonotary and Cursitor, and for the Court of Common Pleas. An excellent Law Library and Robing Room for the barristers, opens into the Crown Court.

A defect, which seems to have been considered unavoidable in the construction of the Courts, owing to their high position, is that the judges, in going to or returning from the Courts, have to pass through a cold and gloomy under-ground passage, and to ascend a similar flight of stairs, which, to aged or infirm men, is a serious inconvenience.

The castle terrace we have before spoken of as a delightful promenade, with a solid stone pavement, always clean and dry, and overlooking a romantic combination of land and water, bay and mountain. Beneath the raised stone terrace are a lower terrace and parade, containing a lawn and a few young trees.†

\* *Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland*, pp. 283—286.

† See Barwick's "*Guide to Lancaster*," 1843.

LIST OF CHARITABLE LEGACIES TO THE DEBTOR PRISONERS IN LANCASTER CASTLE.—  
£ s. d.

- "From Mrs. Henrietta Rigby's Executors, to 12 of the most necessitous and well-behaved prisoners, 5s. each; paid by the Mayor of Lancaster, on the first day of March, every year ..... 3 0 0
- "From Mrs. Langton, paid by Lawrence Rawsthorne, esq., at each Assize\* ..... 2 0 0
- "From Sir Thomas Gerrard, of Garstwood, paid by Mr. Paisick, steward to the present family; due at 1st Aug. 8 0 0
- "Paid, under a decree of the Court of Chancery of this county, out of an estate in Shersmisdale, called Sand, late belonging to Peter Latham, deceased; distributed every August assize, by the trustees of the said Peter Latham, or their order: paid by Messrs. Gream and Co. of Preston ..... 6 0 0
- "By the will of William Edmundson, of Outhwaite, half the rent of a field, called the Lowfield, in Scotforth, purchased by the money left for such purpose by the said will; paid by the county Treasurer, in bread.  
"N.B. This field is now [October, 1805] in the tenure or occupation of Mr. G. Marshall, at the yearly rent of £5; and the other half of the rent is paid to the prisoners at Preston ..... 2 10 0
- "From Mrs. Abigail Rigby's Executors, paid by the Mayor of Lancaster, every St. Thomas' day..... 2 0 0

## PRISON ESTABLISHMENT.†

Description of Officers' Servants.	Salary of each Individual.	By whom appointed.	Remarks.
	£ s. d.		
1 Keeper .....	1000 0 0	The High Sheriff	See deduction below
1 Chaplain .....	350 0 0	County Magistrate	
1 Surgeon .....	120 0 0	Ditto	
1 Task Master .....	120 0 0	Ditto	
1 Matron .....	60 0 0	Ditto	
1 Assistant Matron ..	30 0 0	Ditto	
1 Schoolmaster ..	60 0 0	Ditto	
1 Court Keeper ..	20 0 0	Ditto	
1 Architect .....	54 12 0	Ditto	
1 Joiner .....	62 0 0	Ditto	
1 Mason .....	57 4 0	Ditto	
1 Clerk .....	200 0 0	Ditto	Towards the payment of these Salaries, amounting to £451:4:0, the County allows £250; the remainder is payable out of the Keeper's Salary.
1 Turnkey .....	80 0 0	Ditto	
2 Ditto .....	80 0 0	Ditto	
3 Ditto .....	60 0 0	Ditto	
1 Watchman ..	31 4 0	Ditto	

\* In Hall's "Lancaster Castle," said to be £4.

† From the 4th and 5th Reports on Gaols and Houses of Correction. Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, in 1835.

**LEGAL STATISTICS.**—Lancashire is included in the Northern Circuit. The division of the county into two parts for judicial purposes, made by Order in Council, in 1835, coincides with that for parliamentary representation; and the Assizes, which were formerly held at Lancaster for the whole county, are now held at Lancaster for the northern, and at Liverpool for the southern, division. The Quarter Sessions are held at Lancaster; and, by successive adjournments, at Preston, Salford, and Liverpool.

The county has a Court of Common Pleas, with which, in most cases, the Courts of Queen's Bench, and of Common Pleas at Westminster, have a concurrent jurisdiction. This Court saves the time and expense of sending to London for writs in cases of arrests. It is held at Lancaster every assize, and has jurisdiction over all real actions for lands, in all actions against corporations within the county, and over all personal actions, when the defendant resides in Lancashire.

According to the "Criminal Returns," for 1838, Lancashire ranks highest in crime, being 1.18, while the average is 1.08. The total number of offenders in that year was 2,586, for the county, of whom 2,066 were convicted, 4 were sentenced to death, 45 transported for life, and 345 for shorter periods; 1647 were imprisoned, most of them for six months and under, and 24 were whipped, fined, and discharged on sureties. From an elaborate report, by the Rev. John Clay, Chaplain to the Preston House of Correction, presented to the Visiting Justices, at the October Sessions, 1838, it appears that, in that year, the proportion of felonies, of all kinds, including poaching at night, armed, in the hundred of Lonsdale, was as 1 in 2,026; in Amounderness, 1 in 496; in Blackburn, 1 in 1,037; in Leyland, 1 in 2,197; West Derby, 1 in 558, and Salford, 1 in 496. The high rate of criminality in Amounderness, as compared with the other hundreds in the northern division, appeared to arise from the practice in Preston and its vicinity of committing minor cases of felony for trial, instead of dealing with them in a summary way.

Criminality in this county, in 1838, continued, on the whole, to be manifested in about the same proportion which had constituted the average of the six preceding years; but in 1836—37 young criminals under fifteen, were in the proportion of 11.19. per cent. Offences caused by intoxication appear to amount to 30½ per cent., on all offences committed within the county, exclusive of Preston, where the proportion is only 14½ per cent, a circumstance arising from the existence of the "Temperance" or "Abstinence" Society at Preston, comprehending about 5000 members.

From 1780 to 1790 the felons would not average 20 at each assize; from 1790 to 1800, they would be nearly 40; from 1800 to 1810, they would be between 60 and 70; and from 1810 to 1820 they have been nearly 100.\*

April Assizes 1823, the Judge received white gloves, the assizes being deemed "maiden" because no persons were left for execution; though sentence of death was recorded against twenty-eight.

\* Lonsdale Magazine. vol. 1., p. 473.



STATISTICS OF CRIME IN LANCASTER.—The following return for the past year ending November 9, 1851, has just been prepared for the authorities by Mr. Superintendent Wright ;—

The total number of offenders, three hundred and eighty-five. Of these, 59 were charged with felonies, 210 with misdemeanours, and 216 with being drunk and disorderly. Their ages were respectively, 20 under 12 years ; 62 under 20 years ; 139 under 30 years ; 160 thirty years and upwards ; 4 who would not give their age. 51 could read well, 200 read ill, 125 not at all, and 9 who refused to state what they were capable of doing. 31 could write well, 153 wrote ill, 192 could not write at all. 345 could repeat the Lord's Prayer ; 31 could not. 362 could tell the day of the week ; 14 could not. 198 could tell the month or year ; 178 could not. 216 were convicted, 50 reprimanded, and 82 acquitted. 165 had been charged previously ; 220 had not. 235 were natives of Lancashire ; 150 were not. The offences committed under the influence of drink were 142 in number.

The offences are particularised as follows :—

Housebreaking, Highway robbery, stealing from the person, from shops, clothes-hedges, &c. 59 ; obtaining property under false pretences 9 ; uttering counterfeit coin, 3 ; illegally pawning, 3 ; robbing gardens, 18 ; malicious damage, 11 ; disorderly women 25 ; vagrancy, 80 ; work-house insubordination, 9 ; assaults on the police, 12 ; common assaults, 27 ; disorderly apprentices, 3 ; drunk and disorderly, 116 ; insane persons wandering abroad, 4 ; non-payment of affiliation order, 2 ; deserters, 3 ; perjury, 1.—Total 385.

To this return the Superintendent appends the following remarks :—Offences of an aggravated character have decreased within the borough during last year. Vagrancy, principally committed by the lower classes of Irish, has increased to a very great extent. Drunkenness and ignorance still prevail to a large amount, and I am of opinion that crime would be much decreased within the borough, *if the public houses and beer houses were closed altogether on the Sunday. Until this is done, we shall not do much good.* If the act for the regulation of common lodging houses within the town be well carried out, much good would arise in the locality of such places.

## The Priory.

Soon after the Conquest, a church here, dedicated to *St. Mary*, was given by *Roger de Poictou* to God, and *St. Martin of Sees*, in *Normandy*, with a vast variety of other possessions, as appears by the following Charter :—

“In nomine et honore sanctæ ac individuæ Trinitatis. Notum sit omnibus tam præsentibus quàm futuris, quod Rogerus Comes Pictavensis,

pro salute animæ suæ et pro salute quoque Rogeri Seroberie patris sui, matrisque suæ Mabilie comitissæ, nec non pro fratribus suis et pro omnibus amicis suis, dedit Deo et Sanctæ Martino ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ de Lanecastro, cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, et partem terræ illius villæ à veteri muro usque ad pomerium Godefridi, et usque ad Prestegat, et juxta Lancastrium duas mansiones Audecliva et Newtona, et quæque ad eas pertinentia, nemus quoque usque ad Freibrok, cum dignitate et consuetudinibus quas ipse habebat et Amfridum de Monte Gomerii, et quicquid de supradicto comite tenet, et ecclesiam de Hessem cum tertiâ parte totius villæ, et ecclesiam de Cotegrave, et ecclesiam de Cropil, et ecclesiam de Wikelay, et ecclesiam Crofton, et medietatem ecclesiæ Aicletone, et ecclesiam Kidewell, et ecclesiam Prestone, cum decimâ domini, et piscatoriæ et duabus bovatis terræ et omnibus decimis totius parochiæ, et ecclesiam Kirkeham, et ecclesiam de Meltinges, et ecclesiam Boeltone, cum decimâ domini et medietatem unius caruchæ terræ, et omnibus aliis decimis: dedit etiam Magnum Dernesia\* Pultona, et quicquid ad eam pertinet, et ecclesiam cum unâ caruchâ terræ, et cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis. Præterea dedit decimam venationis et pasnagii omnium suorum et decimam suæ piscatoriæ. Concessitque tertium tractum sagenæ Sactæ Mariæ. Insuper dedit decimas pullorum, et vitulorum, et agnorum. et hedorum et porcorum, et annonæ et caseorum, et butiurum apud Estaneberiam apud Salford, et de Derby, et ad Halas, et Ewretonam, et Waletonam, et Cr ossebeiam, et Molas, et Croftonam, et Prestonam, et Ribî, et Singletonam, et Presoure, et Middletonam, Overtonam, et Escarton, et Bare, et Stapeturnam, et Asselinas. Hæc omnia dedit ad honorem Dei et Sanctæ Mariæ ad victum monachorum qui in eodem monasterio Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ officium celebrarent, tam liberaliter quod nulla secularia servicia illi nec suis successoribus monachi nec sui homines aliquo tempore facerent, et nullus suorum super ea potestatem habeat, nec aliquid inde accipiat, nec consuetudines aliquas imponat, quia omnes dignitates et consuetudines quas ipse habuit in suâ terrâ concessit habere monasterio Sanctæ Mariæ de Lancastro. Concessit etiam, si aliquis orationes et beneficium monasterii Lancastri, requirere voluerit, et partem suæ terræ usque ad medietatem ei dederit, Comes libentissimè concedit."

Having thus set his followers this example of liberality, the earl gave license to all who desired the prayers and other benefits of the monastery, to alienate even the half of their lands for its support. The effects of this permission are next stated:—

"Et postquam ipse Comes concesserit, Godefridus, Vice-comes, hæc audiens dedit decimas de Biscopeham, et quicquid habebat in Lancastro, domos, pomerium; et Radulphus Gernet tres homines in Suffolc.

\* A mistake for "In Amundernesia."

"Inde testes sunt prædictus Comes et filia ejus Sibilla; et G. Vicecomes; et Alb. Gelet, R. filius Roberti, G. Boissell, A. frater ejus, P. de Vileres, Rannmard V. filius Alumæ, Ocui filius Chetel, Ulf filius Torolf, Rananchil filius Raghanald."

*John*, earl of *Moreton*, confirmed the grants of *Roger de Poictou* and *Godfrid*, sheriff of *Lancashire*, **commencing** :—

"Johannes Comes Moritonie omnibus hominibus, et amicis suis, Francis et Anglicis, salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse, et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et Sancto Martino de Sagio, ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ de Lancastre cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus. Et partem terræ illius villæ à veteri muro usque ad pomerium Godefridi et usque ad Prestgate. Et juxta Lancast', duas mansiones, scilicet Aldeclive et quæque ad eam pertinent, et Newtonam per divisas suas coram me perambulatas; videlicet à rivulo illo qui currit inter villam meam Lancast', et hospitale Leprosorum Sancti Leonardi descendens in Lohon, et usque ad rivulum de Frithbroc qui facit divisas infra forestam meam, et nemus de Newtona, quod Rogerus Pictavensis dedit ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Lancastro, et concessit cum dignitate et cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus quas ipse habebat in terrâ suâ. Et Amfridum de Monte Gomeri et quicquid de eodem Rogero Pictavensi tenuit cum terris, et pratis, et pascuis, et stagnis et molendinis, et rivulis et propresturis usque in L'on," &c.\*

In the second year of pope *Celestine*, the bishop of *Coventry* confirmed the grant made by *John*, while earl of *Moreton*, to the priory of LANCASTER, of the tithes of the parishes between *Ribble* and *Mersey*. To this deed is appended a broken seal of red wax, upon silk strings; it has the figure of a bishop, in pontificals; with a counter-seal. King *John* confirmed by letters patent, the grants which he had made while earl of *Moreton*. These are dated *York*, 26 March, A.D. 1200.

It would appear that in the ancient division of LANCASTER, comprehending the two villas mentioned in Domesday Survey, *Loncaster* was the site of the lower part of the present town; and *Cherca-Lon-*

\* As in the charter just given.

*castre*, the upper part, comprising the castle and *St. Mary's* church; a distinction which existed some time afterwards; for, by a deed without date, probably about the year 1200, a plot of land given to the priory, is described as situated in the territory of OLD LANCASTER, lying on the north part of the font, spring, or well of OLD LANCASTER, following the brook of the same spring towards the north, and to the common pasture of LANCASTER, and ascending towards *Swarte Moor*, until two acres be completed. These boundaries seem to be those of the land now called *Green Ayre*, which is in fact north of the *stone well*.\*

A.D. 1201, the prior paid two palfreys for a protection, that he might not be impleaded for any of his tenements, except before the king or his chief justice.†

This proceeding was followed by a charter from *Ranulph*, earl of *Chester* who confirmed to the priory the possession of the churches, lands, customs, rights, and liberties, which *Roger*, earl of *Poictou*, had given to them. To these *Roger de Montebegon* added the chapel of *Guersingham*; *Warin de Waliton*, the patronage of *Ecclesdene*; *John de la Ware*, the patronage of *Croston*; Sir *Roger de Guernet* of *Halton*, the church of *Ecclesdene*; *Geoffrey de Balista*, of *Horkemishon*, an ancestor of the *Sherburnes* of *Stonyhurst*, and *William de Stalmyne Lacye* granted their right and claim in the chapel of *Stalmyne*. Numerous other benefactors granted portions of land, chiefly in

\* Register St. Mariæ de Lanc., MS., fol. 45.

† Mag. Rot. 2 John. Rot. 17. Lanc. Chart. Antiq. D. n. 41.

the parish of LANCASTER. *William de Lancaster* gave the priory a rent of twelve-pence, payable out of his mill at *Stodale* for permission to have a chapel on his manor of *Esseton*.\*

A. D. 1215, by a deed of this date, certain burgages, with three acres of land, in *Heefield*, in LANCASTER, (probably *High-field*) were given to the priory.

By another deed, without date, *Adam Fitz-Harald* of LANCASTER, gives to *Roger the Chaplain*, son of . . . . *Cassand*, of LANCASTER, an acre and a half of land, in the territory of LANCASTER, lying in the *Cultura*, inclosures probably, called the *Milne-field* between *Gerard the Chaplain's* land, and the royal highway leading to *Gargotra*.† The *Milne* stood in the reign of *Elizabeth* at no great distance from the bank; *Gargotra* is probably the *Garth Gutter*; the weir stream, and the highway, leading to *Damside-street*. By a similar deed, *William* son of *Roger de Croftes* gives to the priory a portion of his land, in the territory of the town of LANCASTER, whereof one extremity produces the road leading to *Penny Stone*, and the other extremity lies towards the *Depe Car*.‡ Another of these ancient names may probably be found in *Penny-street*, formerly *Penny-stone*.§ *William Fitz-Roger de Lancaster* gives to the priory, by a deed also without date, a portion of his land in the territory of LANCASTER, lying upon the *Karfurlong*; and one acre of land lying between *Mabbes Walles siche*, and the lands of *John Abbot*,

\* Baines, vol. iv. p. 515.

† Register, S. Mariæ. fol. 47.

‡ Register, fo. 47.

§ Baines, vol. iv.

which abuts on the *Castle Marsh*.\* The *Depe-car* and the *Kar-furlong*, being in the territory of LANCASTER, would seem to have been absorbed in **some** of the streets erected there, the term *Mabbes Walles siche* points clearly to the *Wery Wall*, which at this part had a ditch, and by its proximity to the *Castle Marsh*, of which traces are preserved in *Marsh-lane*, must have been near the castle-hill, where the *sike* partly existed a few years ago, and where it seems the ancient wall of the town bore a different name from that in the vicarage fields.†

By another deed undated, *Robert Fitz Ine* gives to the priory a burgage in the street called *St. Leonard's*, rendering one penny to the chief lord.

We meet with a composition respecting the tithes of the parishes of LANCASTER, *Poulton* and *Bispham*, about this period.

A.D. 1217, *Thomas*, earl of LANCASTER, granted to the priory license to inclose sixty acres of waste, adjoining their close of *Rigg*, in the ville of *Newton*, which was within the precincts of his forest of LANCASTER.‡

A.D. 1219, the prior of LANCASTER was appointed by pope *Honorius III.*, one of the commissioners to determine the merits of a case respecting a new cemetery in the eastern division of *Furness Fells*, etc., to which the vicars of *Dalton* and *Urswick* objected. From the increase of population in the eastern division of *Furness Fells*, it became necessary to relieve the inhabitants

\* Register, fo. 48.

† Baines, vol. iv. p. 509.

‡ Register, S. Marie, MS. fol. 70.

from the burden of carrying the bodies of their dead, from one extremity of *Furness* to the other, for interment in the mother church of *Dalton*, at a distance of two or three and twenty miles; and the abbot of *Furness*, was desirous of erecting this division into an independent parish, as well as of annexing the valuable and extensive chapelry of *Hawkshead* to the monastery. But this it appears was strongly opposed by the vicars of *Dalton* and *Urswick*, and at length ended in an appeal to the Papal court by the abbot; to which the pope replied by appointing a commission consisting of the priors of *Saint Bees*, LANCASTER, and *Cartmel*, to determine the merits of the case: who after hearing the parties, pronounced judgement in favour of the abbot, and directed that the chapel-yard at *Hawkshead* should be consecrated for sepulture. The parson of *Ulverstone* now preferred a claim to the same chapel, but on investigation it was ascertained by the evidence both of clerks and laymen, that he had no right to it; yet, says the record, he shall hold it during his life, freely and quietly in all things, save burials, of the church and parson of *Dalton*, by an acknowledgment of half-a-pound of incense at Michaelmas.

The next deed, but without date, is a quit claim of the abbot and convent of *Sees* of the church of *Melinges*, granted to the prior and convent of LANCASTER.

About the year 1232, an agreement was entered into between the abbot of *Cockersand* and the prior of LANCASTER, which was rendered necessary by the neighbourhood of *Garstang* to the royal forest,

where the prior had extensive rights. Pope *Gregory IX.*, the successor of *Honorius III.*, some time between 1227 and 1241, issued a bull, the transcript of which, in the coucher book, bears no date, and the original of which has not been discovered, which is in the nature of a commission, addressed to the priors of *St. Bees'*, LANCASTER, and *Cartmel*, giving them plenary authority to dissolve any sentences of excommunication and interdict which may have been issued against the *Cistercian* houses of the province of *York*, or their friends and servants, contrary to the apostolic privileges enjoyed by them; and to compel the authors of such sentences to satisfy fully the abbots and others against whom they may have been pronounced, for their losses and costs by reason thereof.

In A.D. 1246, the monks of this house had a license from the archdeacon of *Richmond*, for the appropriation of the parish church, with the chapels of *Gressingham*, *Caton*, *Overton*, and especially the chapel of *Stalemine*, the mediety of the church at *Poulton*, and the chapel of *Biscopham*.\*

A.D. 1256: A composition was entered into between the prior and convent of LANCASTER and the abbot and convent of *Cockersand*, for the purpose of settling disputes which had arisen between them, on account of the abbot and convent burying certain dead, and admitting the living to the sacraments, contrary to an agreement between them.

A.D. 1257: In this year the prior of LANCASTER was admitted, by grant of the abbot of *Furness*, to a participation of the *fishery* in the *Lune*, bestowed

\* Baines, vol. iv. p. 515.



by count *Stephen* on *Furness Abbey*, in this manner; after the abbot had twice drawn with his drag-net from *Holgill* to *Prestwarth*,\* and from *St. Mary's* well to *Prestwarth* also, and twice in *St. Mary's Pot*, the prior should be entitled to the third draught in them all.† A.D. 1259, we meet with a writing obligatory, to keep harmless the prior of LANCASTER from a fine imposed upon the obligor before justices in eyre, for a trespass; for which fine the prior became surety for the obligor before the said justices.

A.D. 1260: Pope *Alexander IV.* granted a license to the church of the monastery of LANCASTER of the order of *St. Benedict*, in the diocese of *York*, to confer suitable honours on the penitent who visited the church on the festivities of the blessed virgin, and on the anniversary of the dedication of the church; and to encourage such visits, the pope remits one hundred days of penance.‡

The church of LANCASTER, with its appendent chapels, was appropriated to the priory, 1266, by the archdeacon of *Richmond*,§ and in 1267, *Walter*, archbishop of *York*, perpetually annexed the church of *Bolton*, originally conferred on the priory, to the archdeaconry of *Richmond*.||

*Edmund*, earl of *Lancaster*, before his departure to the *Holy Land*, in 1270, granted letters of protection to the monks and monastery, to remain in force for three years. Appended to this deed is a round seal of green wax, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch large:

\* Now called Scale-ford. † *Annales Furnesienses*, p. 217.

‡ Register of *St. Mariæ*, MS., fol. 14.

§ Register Archiepisc. Ebor. MS., p. iii., fo. 3. || *Ibid*, p. ii., fo. 100.

the device is a tri-corporated lion. This seal is represented in Mr. *Sandford's* "Genealogical History of *England*," p. 102, but in a size somewhat larger than this seal.

In 1271, were two compositions entered into between *Ralph de Truno*, prior of LANCASTER, and the abbot and convent of *Cokersand*, respecting the tithes of *Poulton*, &c. About this time, the earl of *Lancaster* granted two loads of dry wood for fuel, to the priory of LANCASTER, to be taken out of his forests in *Lancashire*, except *Wyresdale*.

4 *Edward I.*, Sir *Adam Banaster* and six others, including *Adam*, the reeve (of *Singleton*), fell upon the prior of LANCASTER of that time, and his retinue, at *Pulton*, and led them to *Thorneton*, where they threw them into prison, and cruelly beat and wounded them, in the month of December.\*

Before the year 1291, *Edmund*, earl of LANCASTER admitted *John de Ray* prior of LANCASTER, on the presentation of the monastery of *Sees*.†

When the ecclesiastical Valor of pope *Nicholas*, was taken, A.D. 1291, the church of *St. Mary's*, LANCASTER, was worth £80; and the property of the priory, in different places, was estimated as follows:—In the church of *Eccles*, £2: 13: 4. Ten marks paid by the abbot of *Stanlaw*, for rent in *Pulton*. In goods the prior has £4. His portion in the church of *Kirkham*, was xvij. viijd.; in temporals, £4.

In this year, 1292, a controversy, which had arisen between the abbey of *Furness* and the priory of *St. Mary's*, in LANCASTER, respecting tithes, was

\* Register St. Mariæ, Lanc., MS., fol. 70.

† Ibid, fo. 72.

terminated by the agreement of the parties. It appears from the original document, now remaining in the *British Museum* (*Carta Antiqua*, 83, A. 31), that the monks had, for many years back, paid to the canons, a composition of two marks, in lieu of all tithe for their lands at *Beaumont Grange*, in the parish of LANCASTER, when their lands were not in their own occupation. But it was now agreed that the two marks should continue to be paid for all lands at *Beaumont* acquired since the General Council of A.D. 1215, although retained in their own occupation; but, if let out to be farmed by others, then the prior was to take the tithes of such lands, in addition to the payment of two marks at Michaelmas, as before.

This *Grange* seems to have been granted to them by *John de Parles*, who confirmed to the priory, one acre of land in *Pulton*, lying near the *Grange*, which *Henry de Beaumont* held of him, containing sixty feet in length, and thirty in breadth, for the site of the *Grange*.\*

In the transaction above alluded to, which is dated on Ascension Sunday, my lord prior proved himself a superior financier to my lord abbot, and secured to his priory an accession of income at the other's expense. It will afterwards be seen that this agreement was set aside by a subsequent abbot, in A.D. 1305.†

In 1293, 21 *Edward I.*, we meet with an Inquisition respecting some destruction of the foss at *Pulton*, belonging to the prior of LANCASTER.‡

\* Baines, vol. iv., p. 515. † *Annales Furnesienses*, p. 236, 237.

‡ *Inquis. P. M.*, eod. ann,

In the year 1296, *Johannes Romanus*, archdeacon of *Richmond*, confirmed to *St. Martin*, of *Sees*, and *St. Mary*, of LANCASTER, amongst other possessions, the mediety of the church of *Pulton* and the chapel of *Biscopham*, and granted the other moiety of *Pulton* and *Biscopham*, upon the death of the then incumbent; so that when both parts accrued to the abbot of *Sees* and prior of LANCASTER, they should appoint a vicar, whose income should be twenty marks.\*

15 Kal. June, 1299, Master *William de Lancaster* was presented to the church of *Eccleston*, by the prior and convent of LANCASTER.†

About this period we meet with the following notice:—

“Item sciendum est, quod juxta villam de Slyne fuit aliqua quedam parva villa, quæ vocabatur Stapleton Terne, in qua fuerunt tot Bondi et tot bovat. terræ quot fuerunt in villa de Slyne. Et dictæ duæ villæ de Slyne et Stapleton Terne habebantur pro una villa in wapentagio, ut tenebantur a domino rege. Et omnes manentes in Stapleton Terne fuerunt parochiani ecclesiæ de Bolton, sicuti illi de Slyne, et perceperunt omnia jura siue sacramenta ecclesiastica de eadem ecclesia de Bolton, et plenarie reddiderunt eidem ecclesiæ omnimodas decimas tam majores quam minores. Inter cætera quidam homo Warynus parochianus habuit ex dono regis unum parvum mansum cum quadam parte terræ in uno loco qui vocatur Beamond, et illud tenementum spectabat ad villam de Sternton‡ de parochia de Lancast'. Demum dicti Warynus et Berleta uxor ejus detenti decrepitudine, de licentia domini regis dederunt illud parvum tenementum de Beamond abbati et conventui de Furnes pro sua sustentatione ad vitam eorundem. Et sic dicti abbas et conventus fecerunt unam parvam grangiam de dicto loco de Beamond. Postea dominus rex accedens ad prædictam abbathiam, sive ad dictam grangiam, vidit quod dicta grangia fuit nimis parva et exilis, et dedit prædictam villam de Stapleton Terne dicto abbati et conventui in augmentum dictæ parvæ grangiæ, una cum aliis terris quæ fuerunt de parochia de Halton. Et quam cito dictus abbas et conventus habuerunt prædictam villam de Stapleton Terne sic annexendam dictæ grangiæ, amoverunt omnes manentes in eadem villa, et de omnibus terris congregatis fecerunt unam grangiam, et detinuerunt per privilegia sua omni-

\* Not. Cestr., vol. II., p. 483.

† Lib. 4, fol. 26, and 8 a., Reg. Langton in Cur. Lich.

Not. Cestr., II., p. 372.

‡ Quere, Skerton.

modas decimas. Dicitur tamen quod dictus abbas et conventus solvunt annuatim priori Lancastri quandam summam pecuniæ, sed nescitur pro quibus decimis. Et dicta ecclesia de Bolton spoliata fuit suo jure usque ad autumpnum anno Domini millesimo cc. nonagesimo nono, quo autumpno illa ecclesia de Bolton pacifice vestita fuit de decimis majoribus crescentibus super terris quæ pertinebant ad dictam villam de Stapleton Terne. Et Rector ecclesiæ de Halton jam recuperavit jus suum versus Priorem Lancastri de decimis ejusdem grangiæ, ad ecclesiam suam pertinentibus. Multo fortius dictus rector de Bolton recuperavit jus suum versus priorem prædictum de decimis dictæ grangiæ ad prædictam ecclesiam de Bolton pertinentibus, vel versus dictum Abbatem et Conventum de Furnes.\*

In 1300, 28 *Edward I.*, a charter was granted to the prior of LANCASTER, as appears from a patent-roll of that date. In 1305, the *Beamont* tithe affair was again brought before the Conventual Assembly, when it was resolved that the payment of both tithes and modus, "rem et precium," to the prior of LANCASTER is unjust; and this being allowed by that dignitary, a new compact between the parties was ultimately agreed upon. Though this deed was drawn up and dated 22 Sept., 1305, for some reason or other, now unknown, the abbot did not confirm this document, by affixing his seal, until June 17, A.D. 1306, when it was done in the presence of the official of the archdeacon of *Richmond*.

11 *Edward II.*, the prior preferred a complaint to *Thomas*, earl of LANCASTER, against the master of *St. Leonard's*, stating that, though the prior and his predecessors, parsons of the parish church had, time out of mind, received all the tithes of that parish, yet the master had taken C.s. for the tithes of the garbs of the lands and tenements belonging to the hospital, in *Skerton* and LANCASTER, and xxs. for oblations at the chapel of

\* Hist. Hon. Richmond, Appendix p. 70.

the hospital, which was also within the parish, inflicting thereby a damage of x marks upon the priory. The master attempted to defend himself by producing a bull of pope *Celestine's*, which he alleged, conferred the tithes upon the hospital, but the jury gave their verdict for the complainant.

In 1314, a serious affray occurred between the abbot's people of *Beaumont Grange*, and *Gervase*, the boatman, *Thomas*, the wainsman, and others, on the part of the prior of LANCASTER, whilst fishing in the river *Lune*. The prior was admitted to a share of this fishery, which was originally included in the grant to *Furness Abbey*, by *Stephen*, count of *Bologne*. Not contented, however, with the third draught, after the abbot had had two, he and his agents hauled their seine whenever they felt so disposed, and had taken fish to the value of £300, according to the abbot's account, no doubt a very exaggerated one; but they had resisted his people *vi et armis*, beaten and wounded his servants, and forcibly taken the oxen from his waggons whilst carrying timber to make weirs in the river. The abbot was consequently obliged to apply for the royal protection, and the king directed letters patent to his justices to inquire into the alleged trespass and default. How this affair terminated will be subsequently seen. Articles of agreement between the abbot of *Furness* and the prior of LANCASTER, respecting each other's right and manner of fishing in the *Lune*, were drawn up on the 29 Sept., of the year 1315, which terminated, for a season, the contest between them. In 1319, 12 *Edward II.*, judgment in assize was given to

the prior of LANCASTER for twelve acres of moor and pasture, and five acres of brushwood in *Newton*, near LANCASTER.

In 1322, on an Inquisition post mortem, it was found that the priory of LANCASTER held certain lands at *Beaumont*, which were confirmed to "their prior, *John Innocent*, and his successors, priors of the church of the blessed *Mary*, at LANCASTER." 15 *Richard II.*, 21 Oct.

The prior and monks were involved in litigation respecting the tithes of *Fulwode* and *Hyde Park*, demesnes of the earl of LANCASTER, which, by decree dated *York*, on Monday before the Conversion of *St. Paul*, A.D. 1223, were restored and confirmed to the prior of LANCASTER. In 1335, an ordinance was made by *Robert de Hungerford*, chief councillor of *Henry*, earl of LANCASTER, granting permission to the prior of *St. Mary's*, to enclose his several woods and pastures with a ditch and fence, according to the assize of the forest, and to take two loads of dead wood every day from the earl's forest. In 1361, amongst the Escheats 35 *Edward III.*, we find under the head "feoda subscripta tenentur de honore de *Tuttebiry*" *Lancaster Priorat' advoc'.*"

Much information respecting the extent and revenues of this establishment are found in a commendatory letter from pope *Urban V.*, dated *Avignon*, 7 Kal. Decemb. in the fifth year of his pontificate, A. D. 1367, addressed to *William Raymbant*, a monk of *St. Martin of Sees*, appointing him prior of LANCASTER; this vacancy having been occasioned by the promotion of his predeces-

sor to the government of the parent house, and his favourable report of *Raymbant's* qualifications, such as a profession of twenty-two years in the abbey, residence during a considerable part of that time at LANCASTER, and fluency in the language of the country. The annual revenue of the priory at this time is stated to be £80, out of which he was to pay an acknowledgement of five marks to the abbey of *St. Martin's*, the remainder being devoted to the maintenance of five monks, three priests, two clerks, with the servants of the house, and the maintenance of the accustomed hospitality. In a patent-roll, 7 *Richard II.*, A. D. 1384, may be found the boundaries of the land called "*le Bulke*," belonging to the prior of *St. Mary's*, LANCASTER. In 1392, 15 *Richard, II.*, the patent-rolls contain a very extensive "confirmation" of the manors, lands, and liberties, granted to the prior of LANCASTER. In the rolls of the year 1405, is given at length, an exemplification of a certain judgement in assize for the prior of LANCASTER, of five acres of moor and pasture, and five acres of brushwood in *Newton* near LANCASTER.\* In 1414, by an act of Parliament which suppressed the alien priories, the *Benedictine* house of LANCASTER, was resumed by the king, and given to *Thomas*, bishop of *Durham*, *Edward*, bishop of *Norwich*, and others, in trust for the abbess of *Sion*, in *Middlesex*, founded by king *Henry V.* This assignment was made by license of king *Henry VI.*, and confirmed by authority of parliament. In a deed bearing date 1st September, 1428, we find a sequestration of

\* See A.D. 1219.



the goods belonging to the priory by *John* archbishop of *York*, pending a controversy between the abbess of *Sion*, and the archdeacon of *Richmond*, as to the tithes which had accrued since the death of *Giles Lovell*, the last prior. The trustees formally surrendered to the abbess the priory, with all its appurtenances and emoluments by a deed in *Frank Almoigne*, dated 3rd of September, 1432. Whilst the priory was held in trust, *William Kenwolmarsh*, the lord-chancellor, presented a vicar to *Poulton*, the church and manor of which had been given by the founder to the priory of LANCASTER.

A book belonging to the Augmentation office, entitled "Liber Primus de ley Rates iij. et iiij. *Philip & Mary*," contains a commission from the crown, authorizing Sir *Robert Rochester*, knt., comptroller of the household, and others, to sell, for ready money, certain honours, castells, manners, tenements, etc., bearing teste the 20th daye of Aprill, the third and fourth yeares of the raygnes of king *Phillip* and queen *Mary*; and instructions to the commissioners limiting their authority. Mention is made of five burgages in LANCASTER and a certain field called *Nunfields*, containing sixteen acres of pasture, in the tenure of *Thomas Singleton*, all which belonged to the priory of *Seyton*.

## THE PRIORS OF ST. MARY'S, LANCASTER.

1. John..... about A.D. 1230.	10. William de Bohun .... 1327.
2. Galfridus ..... 1241.	11. Adam Conratts ..... 1330.
3. Gernerus ..... 1249.	12. Ralph de Truno ..... 1331.
4. Willielmus (Ree) ..... 1252.	13. Emerie de Argentelles.. 1337.
5. Ralph de Truno ..... 1266.	14. Peter ..... 1367.
6. John Ray ..... .. 1270.	15. John Innocent ..... 1391.
7. Nigellus ..... 1315.	16. John Loget, (died) .... 1399.
8. Fulcherius .... 1318.	17. Giles Lovell, the last
9. Galfridus ..... 1322.	Prior (died) ..... 1428.

As the succession cannot be traced after *Lovell*, who was appointed fifteen years prior to the separation of his house from its parent abbey, it seems probable that the establishment was broken up at his death, a cell only being maintained on the spot by the ladies of *Syon*.\*

### Dominican Friary.

The site of this house seems indicated by the name of "the *Friarage*," where fragments of columns, foundation-walls, and skeletons, have also been, at various times, discovered. In March, 1801, when *Sulyard-street*, in the "*Friarage*," was being formed, the groundwork of this friary was discovered. The foundations of several of the cells were entire; the dimensions, as taken by Mr. *Edward Batty*, architect, LANCASTER, were found to be seven feet six inches, by six feet six inches; the bases and broken fragments of several large columns, were also found, together with a large quantity of human bones, and some skeletons.†

\* Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 238.

† Not many years ago, when a drain was made in the same street, a considerable space was covered with tiles, bearing various devices, in a rough character, but evidently formed to be joined, and thus make one large pattern. Small portions of ancient walling are visible [24 November, 1840] in two places; one, in the N. W. corner of the field to the S. of *George-street*; and another in a carpenter's yard on the north side of *Gage-street*. These are, doubtless, the remains of the outer walls of the close attached to this friary. These portions are parallel to each other, and of the same character; they have a kind of projecting coping raised on flags; the building is of a very rough character, but the mortar by which the stones are cemented, is very hard. From the distance at which these walls are placed, it is evident that the grounds were of considerable extent north and south, but how far they ran westward must be left to conjecture, as there is nothing left to aid us in resolving such a question.

In 1300, 28 *Edward I.*, *Simon de Lancaster* gave a burgage, with a garden, in *St. Mary's-street* to this house. The prior and friars preachers of LANCASTER are mentioned in 4 *Edward II.*, in an Inquisition ad quod damnum of that date. And, in the following year, they had another charter. In 5 *Edward II.*, A.D. 1312, the prior obtained a grant for permission to enlarge his house.\* And again, 12 *Edward II.*, A.D. 1319, permission was granted to take two acres of land for the same purpose,† which was repeated 44 *Edward III.*‡ Another document relating to this house, is mentioned by *Tanner*, under date of 7 *Richard II.*, A.D. 1314.§ In 1319, *Thomas de Kirkham* is mentioned in an Inquisition ad quod Damnum, respecting certain lands at LANCASTER, held by the friars preachers. In 1370, another charter was granted to them.

A.D. 1513, on the 16 day of August, *Brian Tunstal*, "hole of bodye and mynde, mayks" his will and testament, in which he gives his "sinful soule unto Almighty God, and to our blessed ladye, his mother, Seynt *Mary*, and to all the holy comp'ny of hevyn," "also I gyff unto the frears of LANCASTER xl.li. beseeching them to syng for my soule, and all *Crysten* soules, a hundredth masses.||

A.D. 1523, April the fifth, *Edward Stanley*, lord *Monteagle*, knight of the order of the garter,

\* Pat. Rot., eod. ann., p. 1, m. 19.

† Pat. Rot., p. 2, m. 6.

‡ Pat. Rot., p. 2, m. 2 vel 3.

§ Rec. in Scacc., 7 Richard II., Hil. Rot. 3 citante *Tanner*, *Notitia Mon.*

|| *Whitaker's Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 271.

made his last will and testament, by which, inter alia, he directs as follows:—

“Also, I bequethe to ev’y priest saying masse and doying s’vice yedaye of my buriall viij<sup>d</sup>., and to ev’y clerke i<sup>vd</sup>.; and I further will, that at that day, Master Richard Beverley, prior of the Black Fryars of Lancaster, or, in his absence, another doctor in divinitie bee provided to make a sermon, and to have for his paine and labor, *xxs.* \* ”

At the date of this will he was building the chapel of *Hornby*.

A.D. 1538, by an entry made in a MS. progress of a suffragan, entitled “*Progressus d’ni Suffraganij*,” and preserved among the Harleian MSS.,† and which, though without date, may have been made to *Cromwell*, the vicar-general, it appears that this friary was visited.‡

This house, coeval with the introduction of the order into *England*, survived both the Priory and the Hospital, and continued until the general destruction of monastic institutions at the æra of the glorious *Reformation*. *Leland* mentions it in his account of LANCASTER:—“The old towne (as they say ther), was almost all burned, and stoode partely beyonde the Blak Freres;”§ and if *Stukeley*’s information be correct, the church was standing within the memory of persons with whom he conversed.||

The site of the *Black Friars* was granted, 18 June, 32 *Henry VIII.*, A.D. 1541, to sir *Thomas Holcroft*, but subsequently appears to have passed into the hands of *John Rigmaiden*, or *Rymaiden*, esq., who was called upon, 1 *Edward VI.* A.D. 1546, to

\* Whitaker’s *Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 259.

† Codex, 604.

‡ Baines’ *Lancashire*, vol. iv., p. 472.

§ Leland’s *Itin.*

|| Whitaker’s *Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 239.

shew by what title he held the site of the friars preachers, called "*Le Blak Freres*," near the town of LANCASTER.

The site of the Black Friars was alienated, 2<sup>d</sup> and 3, *Philip* and *Mary*, to *Thomas Carus*, of *Halton*, and his son *Thomas*.

A.D. 1811, in improving the road, were found an ancient tombstone, having a cross fleure, but no letters, and a quantity of human bones; most of the skulls having the teeth quite perfect.

PRIORS OF THE FRIARY.

1269 One mentioned, but no name given.

1311 The Prior of the Friary, mentioned Inquis. ad quod da., eod ann.

1523 Richard Beverley.

1533 Galfrid' Hesketh.

### St. Leonard's Hospital.

Some uncertainty has existed as to the exact situation\* of this hospital, but the discovery of a cross-ed tombstone, and of several human skeletons, in the year 1811, seems to fix it at the eastern extremity of the present *St. Leonard's-gate*; which street no doubt received its name from the hospital.

\* "DISCOVERY OF COINS, &c.—The first field on the right hand side of the road leading to Caton, Hornby, &c., after passing the toll-bar public-house at the end of St. Leonard Gate, is supposed to have been the site of the hospital of St. Leonard, whence, of course, is derived the name of the street. This field has, within the last few days, been trenched over, for agricultural purposes, to about a spade's depth generally. This has led to the discovery of a very excellent specimen of the gold angel of Edward IV., coined between A.D. 1466 and 1483; the *obverse* bears the representation of the archangel St. Michael trampling on the dragon, and thrusting into its mouth a staff, the upper end of which terminates in a cross crosslet; the inscription on that side reads thus, EDVARD DEI GRA. REX ANGL. Z. FRANC. and the mint mark a rose. The *reverse* bears the representation of an ancient

*Saint Leonard's Hospital* was founded for a master, chaplain, and nine persons, of whom three were to be lepers, as appears by an Inquisition in 17 *Edward II.*

By whom this hospital was founded is uncertain, though some writers attribute it to King *John*, while earl of *Moreton*. It is certainly one of the most ancient institutions in the town. This is one of the hospitals of the order of *St. Augustine*, omitted by *Dugdale*, in his "*Monasticon*," but is inserted

galley, on the side of which hangs a shield with the arms of England and France, quarterly; a large cross supplies the lower part of the mast, and above it is seen the tub-shaped round-top which those vessels carried at the mast-head: on the right hand side of the cross is the letter E. and on the left side a rose: the inscription is, PER CRUCEM TVA SALVA NOS XTE REDEMPTI, and the same mint-mark as on the other side. This coin is of very fine gold, the quantity of alloy used being only half a grain to twenty-three carats, three and a half grains of pure gold. This coin, when *minted*, weighed eight grains, troy; it now weighs little more than seven grains.

On Thursday, another golden angel was found in picking off the field a large quantity of stones, which have been turned up in the trenching operations. This coin is of the reign of Henry VI., and resembles the one just described, except the legend of the *obverse*, and the mint-mark. The *obverse* reads HENRIC DI. GRA. REX ANGL. & FRANC. The mint-mark is an escallop shell. We are inclined to think that this is a more rare and curious coin than the former one. Near the fence, at the south end of the field, a human skeleton was discovered, about a foot under the surface; it lay with the feet to the east; but the man who found it, says that the upper part of the skeleton was not in the same line as the lower limbs; this may easily be accounted for by supposing that the soil may have shifted a little, the place of deposit being a sloping ground. The bones were so far decayed as to have only the consistency of rotten wood. One stone, which had formed part of the jamb, or door-way, was also dug up; it has a bold circular moulding, of six inches' diameter, passing down one of the corners.—*Gazette*, 24 March, 1849.

Another angel was found afterwards, on the same spot. *Obverse*, HENRY VIII. DI. GRA. REX AGL. & F. Mint-mark, a portcullis crowned. *Reverse*, same as both the others, except that the last word reads 'REDE.' These coins are now in the possession of W. A. Hinde, esq., Beaumont Hall, Skerton, Lancaster.

in the edition of that interesting work published by the Messrs. *Caley*, *Ellis*, and *Bandinel*, in the year 1830. The following is the account therein given:\* “Here was an hospital for a master, chaplain, and nine poor persons (whereof three were to be lepers), founded by King *John*, while earl of *Moreton*.”

In the year 1291, at the time of the valor of pope *Nicholas IV.*, the hospital of St. *Leonard* possessed, in goods, vij.s. iiij.d.†

In 4, 10, 11, and 13 *Henry III.*, the lepers of this hospital were allowed pasture for their cattle, wood for their fires, and timber for their buildings, in the king's forest of *Loundesdale*.‡

The lepers state, in a petition to *Henry III.*, that they lost their charter by the incursions of the king's enemies, and they heavily complain of the hardships inflicted upon them by *Roger Gernet*, forester of the forest of *Landesdal*, who exacted from them, for winter pasture, one ox, and for summer pasture, one cow, and would not allow them to take wood and timber as they had been accustomed to do. The king, by a writ to the sheriff of LANCASTER, dated April 10, 4 *Henry III.* directed that functionary to give them the peace of *Roger Gernet*, and others who molest them, so that thenceforth they might have their herds and beasts in the said forest, without exaction of ox or cow, and wood for fuel, and timber for building.§

The brethren affirmed that they had obtained a bull from pope *Celestine III.*, who filled the papal

\* Dugdale. ut supra, vol. vi., part 2, p. 765.

† Baines, vol. iv., p. 516.

‡ Inquis. ad quod Damn. eod. ann. n. 72.

§ Rot. Lit. Clausa., 4 *Henry III.*, m. 11.

chair from A.D. 1198 to A.D. 1216, confirming their privileges and donations.\*

A.D. 1232, *William de Scertun*, 6 *Henry III.*, gave to the lepers of LANCASTER, six acres in alms; and to the monks of *Furness*, twelve acres; to *John de Thoraldestolm* he gave forty acres.

In 17 *Edward II.*, A.D. 1324, an Inquisition ad quod Damnum was taken respecting the lands attached to the hospital, in LANCASTER, *Skerton*, and *Wyresdale*, valued at that time at vjl. vjs. viijd. The verdict returned was, that *John*, king of *England*, founded the hospital for one master, one chaplain, and nine poor men, of whom three shall be lepers, and the rest healthy; that each of them shall have daily one loaf, which shall weigh the eighth of a stone [1 lb. 12 oz.]; and have pottage three days a week, Sunday, Monday, and Friday."†

However splendid might be the accommodations, and sumptuous the fare, of the more elevated members of the monastic orders, the situation of others of them was humble in the extreme: and when we find that in the hospital of *St. Leonard's*, or the hospital for lepers, as it is called in the "Notitia Monastica," the allowance per diem to each of the brethren was a loaf weighing 1 lb. 12 oz., and pottage on Sundays, Mondays, and Fridays: it will be allowed that the bill of fare in most workhouses in modern times is much more luxurious.‡

Poor as the hospitallers were, they engaged in a litigation with the abbot of *Sees*, who finally quit-

\* Clark, p. 31, 32.

† Register St. Marie de Lanc., MS. fo. 74.

‡ Baines, vol. iv., p. 515.



claimed to them for ever, the tithes of five acres of land, which they held in the parish of LANCASTER, with their gardens; and the tithes of their mill, and all their beasts, for which the abbot and convent had been accustomed to take one mark of silver.\*

In A. D. 1327, the prior of St. Mary's, LANCASTER, pressed a complaint to *Thomas*, earl of *Lancaster*, against the master of St. *Leonard's*.†

A.D. 1357, About this period, *Henry*, duke of *Lancaster*, annexed this hospital to the nunnery of *Seton*, otherwise *Lekelay*, in *Cumberland*, as appears from a charter dated at *Preston*, in the sixth year of his dukedom. He had heard that this nunnery was too poor to support the prioress and nuns, and therefore granted them this hospital in honour of God and St. *Leonard*. In this grant he also included the chantry of the hospital, provided his burgesses of LANCASTER would agree to it, and bestow their alms and the ancient incumbencies on the hospital.

The possessions of *Seton*, alias *Lekelay*, were valued, at the dissolution, at £12 : 12 : 0½ per annum.‡

In the year 1556, five burgages in LANCASTER, and sixteen acres of land, called the "Nuns' fields," of the annual value of £3 : 5 : 0, were sold by the Crown, to *John Dudding*.§

\* Register St. Mariæ, MS., fo. 45.

† See History of the Priory.

‡ Notitia Cestriensis, vol. ii., p. 574, n. 1.

§ Not. Cestr. vol. ii., p. 574, n. 1.

## The Franciscan Convent of Grey Friars, OR FRIARS MINORITES.

The *Franciscans* first settled in *England* in the year 1234; and were divided into seven custodies or warden-ships. AGUELLUS of *Pisa*, the first Provincial of the order, on his arrival in *England* tendered his commission to *Henry III.*, who favourably received him and his attendants. *Diggs*, ancestor of Sir *Dudley Diggs*, bought for them their first seat in *Canterbury*. They were well skilled in school learning and divinity, and had a curious library at their second house, in *London*, built by *Richard Whittington*, and which at that time cost £550. Their habit was a loose garment of a grey colour, reaching down to their ancles, with a cowl of the same, and a cloak over it, when they walked abroad. They went barefooted in imitation of their founder, *St. Francis d'Assisse*, and girded themselves with a cord. From the colour of their dress they derived the name of *Grey Friars*; and that of *Minor Friars*, or *Friars Minorites*, from their pretended humility.\*

From a "Collection of the Antiquities of the *English Franciscans*," published in *London*, A. D. 1726,† we learn that the *Franciscan* or *Grey Friars'* Convent, "stood near the river, and not far from the bridge; the founder and title are not known; but the site of this house belonged to Mr. *Dalton*, of *Kirkham*, in the year 1714, and was let to one *Henry Westley*, a miller and gardener, who had been tenant there for many years, at the

\* Burton's Mon. p. 60.

† Page 2.

rent of £3 per annum, with a house. The old wall of this enclosure is yet standing and good; but little else remains; nor could I there, upon enquiry, learn that the Friars' House here ever had any lands or revenues belonging to it." The same author states that in A.D. 1539, "all the *Franciscan* Convents in the nation were taken into the king's hands, and the friars turned out of doors to shift for themselves; and not long after all their houses and churches were demolished." *Tanner* also mentions this house, but very cursorily, merely saying, there was formerly a *Franciscan* convent near the old bridge.\*

### Gardiner's Chantry and Hospital,

Situate on the east side of the vicarage-court, was founded in A.D. 1472, by *John Gardiner*, of *Bailrigg*, near LANCASTER, for the support of four poor men.† By the foundation-deed it was to be called, "The Perpetual Chantry of *John Gardiner*, in the church of Saint *Mary*, of LANCASTER." By this deed, he gave all his lands and tenements with their appurtenances, for upholding his almshouses, and for the maintenance of the poor there; and of one chaplain to worship at the parish church of LANCASTER, and at the almshouse as often as need be, if there be any poor who cannot get to the said church.‡ By indenture, dated the 12 June, 1485, his feoffees, he being dead, stood seized

\* Notitia, by Nasmith.  
† Gastrell's Not. Cestr.

† Baines says *women*, vol. iv., p.  
Vide, Will, in the New Registry.

or the manor of *Baybrig*, and lands in divers other places, to the uses of his will, and especially to found a chauntry in LANCASTER church, and support a chaplain, and four poor men in an almshouse on the north side of LANCASTER church, lately built by the said *John Gardyner*; the said almsmen to receive 7*d.* a-week; and a maid, serving the said poor men, to have 2*d.* a-week; and if the four poor men should be too infirm to come to the chapel of the Virgin, in the church of LANCASTER; the chaplain might perform mass in the almshouse. There are still four poor persons, appointed by the corporation, but their allowance has dwindled down to something merely nominal. Nor has any portion of the ample endowment been reserved for the reparation of the hospital.\*

This hospital was re-built, A.D. 1792, on the ancient site, to the east of the vicarage-court, affording a dwelling, with an allowance of 9*s.* 5½*d.* a quarter to each of the poor inmates,† when Mr. *Richard Postlethwaite* re-built his own house.

*Willis* mentions among other pensions paid to the incumbents of chantries, A.D. 1553,

"Lancaster.—To John Hinde, Stipendiary, £4.

"Lancaster Hospital.—To Robert Mackerel, Chantry Priest, £4 : 4 : 2."†

In the *Harleian* Collection, in the *British Museum*, is preserved a valuable book containing a registry of Letters Patent granted during the reign of *Richard III.*, in which appears the following entry:—"To *Nicholas Gardyner*, the executor of

\* Not. Cestr., vol. ii., pt. 2, page 436, n. 7.

† Baines, vol. iv., p. 12.

‡ Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 235.

*John Gardyner*, license to found a chauntry in our Ladie Church of LANCASTR', and to mortgage 126 [sic] of land there."

Over the middle of these almshouses is a stone with the following inscription:—

GARDYNER'S ALMSHOUSES.

Founded 1485.

Re-built 1792.

EDWARD SUART, *Mayor*.

JOHN WARBERCK, } *Bailiffs*.  
RICH. ATKINSON, }

COPY OF THE WILL OF JOHN GARDYNER, FOUNDER OF THE ALMSHOUSE AND SCHOOL, IN LANCASTER.

*Translated from a Latin copy thereof.*

In the name of God. Amen. The 21st day of June, in the year of our Lord 1472, I, John Gardner being of sound mind and memory do make my will in this manner:—

First, I give my soul to God Almighty the blessed Mary and all His saints and my body to be buried in the parish church of the blessed Mary of Lancaster beside the altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the south part

Item, I will and constitute a certain chaplain to officiate for ever Provided always that the said chaplain be of honest life and conversation otherwise the said chaplain shall be expelled from the said service and another suitable Priest be elected to serve there by advice of my executors

Item, I give to the same altar a certain vestment mixed with gold a white surplice a gilded gown and mitre and every thing agreeable to the altar clothes

I also give to the same altar one chalice of silver gilded with gold and a silver cup also gilded with gold with a corporal and cover for the same of silk

Item, I will that the chaplain doing duty in the said office receive and have yearly out of my mill at Newton one hundred shillings by the hands of my executors

Item, I will have a certain Grammar School within the ville of Lancaster upheld and maintained at my own proper expenses and that the Grammarian keeping the said school have yearly six marks to be paid out of the said mill by the hands of my executors and that William Baxterden shall keep the said school during his life to wit so long as he the said William can teach and instruct boys

Item, I will and assign my water-mill aforesaid in the ville of Newton situate on the water of Lon to remain in the hands of my executors with one close of land containing one acre adjoining the said mill from and out of which said mill and close of land my said executors shall pay yearly to the said priest and grammarian teaching the said school one hundred shillings and six marks as is aforesaid

Item, I will that the residue of the annual rents of the said mill should be saved for the upholding and reparation of the said mill

Item, I give all my lands and tenements with the appurtenances to the upholding of my almshouse which I have ordered to be made anew and supporting of the poor people there and one priest to officiate at the same altar in the aforesaid parish church of Lancaster where another priest shall celebrate Provided that the same priest if needs be shall officiate by turns within the said almshouse if there be any poor people there who cannot come to the said church And that the said chaplain shall levy out of the lands and tenements by the advice of the trustees for the same and pay to the same poor people to every one of them [sic] yearly

Item, I will that all my goods may be had into the hands of my executors and to be disposed of for perfecting my almshouse and my chantry for the obtaining the king's license for the same and other necessities for perfecting of the same

Item, I will that Isabella my wife shall have all my goods at Hollesholde\* contained in my house at the time of my decease that my aforesaid wife shall not disturb my executors in distributing the residue of my goods to the fulfilling of my will

Item, I will that my aforesaid wife shall have and receive five marks by the hands of John Bowet so that my aforesaid wife give acquittance to my executors hereafter not to claim any part of the residue of my goods debts or my farms

Item, I will that Randal Elcock priest may have the choice of my two chantries aforesaid, and that Christopher Leye may supply the other chantry if he pleases

Item, I will that John Bowet may have the residue of my term in Beaumond Grange together with the fishery and other appurtenances to the said grange and fishery belonging and which is granted to me by indenture of lease and that the same John shall have the residue of my term in Lon's mill specified in my indenture

Item, I will that Nicholas Grene have the residue of my term in Aldcliffe granted to me by indenture paying to the Lady Abbess of Syon the rents accustomed for the same

Item, I will that the said Nicholas have the residue of my term at Thurnham granted to me by indenture

Item, I will that John Bowet have the tithes of corn within Newton and Bulk late in the tenure of John Southworth paying thereout to the Lady of Syon four marks yearly And that the said John have

\* Household Goods.

the herbage of the Ridge paying thereout to the Lady of Syon forty shillings yearly

Item, I will that Richard Bowet have the tithes of Skerton paying thereout yearly to the said Lady of Syon ten pounds

Item, I will that a stone of marble be laid over my grave

Item, I give towards building the choir where my body shall rest by advice of my executors

Item, I will that five marks be forgiven to Matthew Southworth which the said Matthew owed me so that the same be good natured and not backward in fulfilling my will

Item, I will that if Randal Elcock aforesaid and Christopher Leye they or the one of them die or they or one of them refuse to officiate in my aforesaid chantries then it shall and may be lawful for my executors to choose one or more suitable priest or priests to serve in the aforesaid chantries

Item, I give unto Sir Thomas Broughton, knight, ten marks out of my effects for the better enabling my executors to fulfil my will But the residue and remainder of my goods not above given I leave to the discretion and disposal of my executors and for doing and fulfilling all and singular the premises I make ordain and appoint Randal Elcock priest Christopher Leye priest Nicholas Gardner and John Bowet my executors Moreover I humbly entreat the most potent prince the Duke of Gloucester to be supervisor in all and singular the premises only

*In witness* whereof I have to this my will put my seal the day and year abovesaid and if any of my executors shall release or in anywise acquit his trust without the counsel or advice of his fellows I will that he be expelled from being executor and such release to be void

In the name of God, Amen. This will was proved in the greater Church at York the twelfth day of the month of September in the year of our Lord 1483 before us Randall Fawcett batchelor by the decree of the most reverend Master John Shirwood professor of divinity arch-deacon of Richmond officiating We commit the administration of all the goods of the deceased which are within our jurisdiction to Nicholas Gardner of Newton executor in the said will named Sworn before us in form of law according to our constitution legatine in this behalf set forth the day and year above-said

WM. WHARF.

The foundation of the almshouse and chantry in LANCASTER, and the school made and perfected by the ffeoffees, according to the last will and testament of *John Gardner*.

To all the Sons of the Holy Mother Church present and to come to whose knowledge this our present writing indented and tripartite shall come Randal Elcock John Oxcliffe and Randal Greenbank priests ffeoffees

of John Gardner deceased of the manor of Bailrig with the appurtenances and of 12 messuages 300 acres of land 100 acres of meadow 200 acres of pasture and 40 acres of wood and 4s. in rents with the appurtenances in Bailrig Quernmore Hutton Gressingham Scotforth Preston in Amounderness Goosnargh and Winnerley send greeting ~~Know ye~~ that we fulfilling the will of the aforesaid John Gardner, by the license of the most illustrious Richard king of England and France the third after the Conquest now had and obtained by virtue of the letters patent of the same our lord the king in this behalf to us granted and made As also by the assent of our most Reverend Father in Christ our Lord Thomas by Divine permission Archbishop of York And all others whom it concerns in this behalf having first prayed for the assistance of the Holy Ghost to make a perpetual Chantry with one Chaplain constantly at the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Lancaster situate in the south part of the said church to pray for all and the good estate of our Lord the King aforesaid and for his soul when he departs this life as also for the good estate of the Abbess and Convent of the Monastery of St. Saviour and of the Virgin Mary and Bridget of Syon And likewise for us the aforesaid Randal Elcock John Oxcliffe and Randal Greenbank while we live and for our souls after we depart this life As also for the souls of John Gardner and Isabell his wife and their parents and for the soul of Robert Brockholes and for the souls of all the faithful departed according to our order hereafter described mentioned and set forth to be performed for ever ~~We make~~ found erect establish and create to continue for ever hereafter And we nominate fix create and ordain our beloved in Christ Nicholas Grene to be priest in the Chantry aforesaid by these presents and we give and grant to the said priest that Chantry and invest him therein and we name the aforesaid Chantry "The Perpetual Chantry of John Gardner in the Church of the blessed Mary at Lancaster for ever" And also so to be called And the aforesaid chaplain and their successors be always one body And be called by the name of "The Chaplain of the Perpetual Chantry of John Gardner in the Church of the blessed Mary at Lancaster" for ever and also so to be called and the aforesaid chaplains and their successors be one body and be called by the name of the chaplains of the perpetual chantry of John Gardner in the church of the blessed Mary at Lancaster And to have liberty to implead and be impleaded and also to answer and be answered in all courts spiritual and temporal and before our lord the king and his heirs justices and judges spiritual and temporal in all and singular actions real and personal mixt suits complaints and demands And to have a capacity and perpetual succession And we make these persons capable and will and ordain them so to be by these presents And that they have for the chapel for ever a common seal for doing and despatch of business about the said Chantry And moreover we ordain will and grant that the aforesaid Nicholas Grene and all his successors chaplains of the Chantry aforesaid have and receive towards his maintenance and the maintenance of four poor



people in a certain almshouse situate at the east end of the parish church of Lancaster lately built and erected by the said John Gardner the aforesaid manor with its appurtenances and all and singular messuages lands tenements meadows pastures woods rents and services together with all the rents and profits of the same so that every one of the said poor people may have and receive yearly for ever *sevenpence a week* and a certain maid serving the aforesaid poor may have and receive *two-pence a week* by the hands of the said Nicholas Grene chaplain of the said chantry aforesaid and his successors chaplains of the said chantry in time to come and to continue for ever to be paid out of the rents and profits of the aforesaid manor and lands with the appurtenances with the direction of the mayor of the ville of Lancaster and twelve of his brethren for the time being And also that the aforesaid maid-servant shall at seasonable times be employed in washing their clothes and linen and other necessities for them and likewise to bring home to the almshouse all such victuals by them or any of them bought or to be bought in the said ville of Lancaster And shall not be obliged or compelled to do otherwise And if it shall happen that any of the said four people in the said almshouse being of ill-government and dishonest disposition being twice or thrice admonished by the aforesaid Nicholas chaplain of the chantry aforesaid and his successors chaplains of the said chantry for the time being and will not reform their lives then it shall and may be lawful for the aforesaid mayor of the said ville of Lancaster for the time being and twelve of his brother burgesses of the same ville to cause appoint and put in his place another person better disposed And we further will and ordain that the said Nicholas the chaplain and his successors chaplains of the chantry aforesaid shall celebrate masses and other divine services at the altar aforesaid for the state and good of the souls aforesaid every day for ever without any hindrance they shall say and celebrate to wit on Trinity Sunday (double feast excepted) and in like manner the second service or sixth service out of the office for the dead and every Saturday out of the office of the blessed Virgin Mary on other days it being improper to use the said offices but according to the season of the year required And that the aforesaid chaplain and every other chaplain of the chantry aforesaid after him shall daily say prayers for the dead viz. *Placebo* and *Dirige* (double feasts only excepted) Provided always that if the said chaplain or any of his successors by reason of infirmity or weakness suddenly or naturally happening cannot say mass so that the same cannot come to the said chantry personally the same chaplain on such occasions may more devoutly pray for the good state of the said souls out of the said chantry Moreover we ordain that if any of the said four poor persons grow infirm or so weak and feeble that they cannot be able to come to the said church of the blessed Mary at Lancaster then it shall and may be lawful to and for the chaplain of the aforesaid chantry for the time being as need requires to celebrate mass at the altar situate in the said almshouse And moreover we ordain that the aforesaid chaplain of the chantry aforesaid

and his successors chaplains of the said chantry concerning the chantry in times to come may make and continue their stay and residence And if any such chaplain in such personal residence by any act or circumstance whatsoever in time to come shall voluntarily absent himself above twenty whole days unless in prosecuting some needful cause or business concerning the chantry or through every or other variable cause he be close confined in prison Or if the said chaplain and his successors frequent ale-houses use harlots commit adultery fornication and other unlawful and dishonest games by frequenting of them and it be known that he uses the same and thereof being three times admonished to refrain from such practices and if he refuse then it shall and may be lawful for the said Randal Elcock John Oxcliffe and Randal Greenbank (while living) to expel that chaplain and put in and ordain one proper and suitable priest in his place and that such priest convicted as disabled shall be wholly deprived of his chantry and shall not have any meat or sustenance out of the same in anywise And further we will and ordain that after the death of us Randal John and Randal that the mayor of the ville of Lancaster and his twelve brother burgesses of the same ville have the nomination donation and imposing of a chaplain to serve in the chantry aforesaid and their successors for ever And that as often and whenever the said chantry shall become vacant by the death of a chaplain or his negligence or illicit government or by any ways or means to be made and done by him as aforesaid so often it shall and may be lawful for the same mayor and his brethren aforesaid for the time being to ordain nominate and place one able and suitable chaplain in the aforesaid chantry And if the said mayor and his brethren aforesaid and their successors neglect or delay to nominate and appoint a chaplain to the chantry aforesaid so that the chantry be vacant for one month and no proper chaplain be thereto nominated that after the said month be expired the right of nomination ordination and naming a chaplain to officiate in the said chantry shall devolve and belong to the abbot and convent of the monastery of the blessed Mary of Cockersand And so often as the aforesaid mayor and his brethren aforesaid and their successors aforesaid delay to ordain and name a chaplain for the said chantry the nomination ordering and placing a chaplain to serve in the said chantry shall belong to and be accounted the property of the abbot and convent of the monastery of the blessed Mary of Cockersand And that then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said abbot and convent to nominate and appoint for that time one able and suitable chaplain to officiate in the aforesaid chantry And if the said abbot and convent of the monastery of the blessed Mary of Cockersand shall neglect to nominate a chaplain for that office for the space of one month aforesaid the aforesaid mayor and his brethren for another month after the former month be elapsed shall neglect or be remiss in nominating one able and suitable chaplain to serve in the said chantry then the right of nominating ordaining and putting in a chaplain into the said chantry shall belong and appertain to the abbot and convent of the

blessed Mary of Furness so that it shall and may be lawful to the said abbot and convent of the monastery of the blessed Mary of Furness to nominate ordain and appoint for that term one able and proper chaplain to serve in the chantry aforesaid and that the nomination be and belong to the said abbot and convent of the blessed Mary of Furness Yet we will not that the provisions and ordinations aforesaid shall not occur to be done in such cases to the aforesaid mayor of Lancaster and his brethren aforesaid otherwise when after the said chantry is vacant shall have the preeminence above all others of nominating and appointing an able and suitable chaplain to serve in the said chantry as often and so often as the same be void it shall belong and appertain to the said mayor and his brethren in manner aforesaid for ever And moreover we will and ordain that whensoever and wheresoever it shall happen that the aforesaid chantry be vacant that the rents issues and profits of the said chantry behind and in arrears without due time of the vacancy of the same be taken and received by the chaplain of the said chantry who shall be next nominated and appointed to officiate therein and that the same be disposed of and laid out in and for repairs of the said almshouse by order of the mayor of the ville of Lancaster and his twelve brethren aforesaid for the time being Moreover we will and ordain that as and concerning vestments books chalices ornaments and other matters whatsoever belonging the said chantry be kept by the said chaplain and his successors in safe keeping and that the parts of the indentures thereof indented and made between the mayor and his twelve brethren of the one part and the said chaplain and his successors of the other part to be inter-changeably sealed and kept In Witness whereof we the said Randal Elcock John Oxcliffe and Randal Greenbank to these our writings indented and tripartite have set to our seals

Wherefore we will that one part thereof remain in the keeping of the chaplain aforesaid and his successors and another part to be kept by the mayor and his brethren aforesaid and the third part be in the custody of the aforesaid abbot and convent of Cockersand and their successors for ever Dated the twelfth day of June in the year of our Lord 1485 and in the third year of the reign of king Richard the Third after the Conquest.

## CANTAR' ELEMOS' VILLE LANCASTR'.

EDW'DUS BAYNES INCUMBENS.

*Cantar' p'dea valet in*

	£	s.	d.
Redd' et firnis per annu' .....	xj.	ix.	x.

*Repri's viz. in*

Elemos' an<sup>li</sup> dat' quatuor ho'ibz laic' senio et morbo  
gravit' diat' et noctant' remanen' infra dom' elemos'  
ex or'dinac' et fundac' oe cujus d'm Joh'is Gardinar' tam p' esculent' q'am p' vestiment' et alijs in  
necessarijs ut pz per composico'em .....

vj. ix. —

Et valet clare .....

{ xj. ix. x.
{ — c. x.
xxiiij.

Xma inde .....

## CHAPTER IX.

## HISTORY OF THE BOROUGH.

LANCASTER is a parish, borough,\* township, sea-port, and market-town; the capital of the county of LANCASTER. The PARISH is partly in the hundred of *Lonsdale*, south of the *Sands*, and partly in that of *Amounderness*, in the county palatine of LANCASTER; and contains, in the hundred of *Lons-*

\* Cities and towns were first erected into Corporate communities on the continent; and endowed with many valuable privileges, about the eleventh century. The word *borough* is itself a monument older than all written records, of the state of society in which, in these islands, the institution originated. The Anglo-Saxon *byrig*, *byrg*, *burgh*, &c. for the word is written in a great variety of ways), like the German *burg* of the present day, was the generic term for any place, large or small, fortified by mounds or walls. The fortifications of the continental Saxons, before their inroads on the Roman empire, it is well known, were mere earth-works; in their half nomadic state, they had neither means nor motive for constructing any other. But their conquest and colonization of the greater part of Roman Britain put them into possession of a more solid and artificial class of fortifications, of which, when the first fury of their devastating violence against everything Roman had exhausted itself, they must, in some degree, have appreciated their utility. The new circumstances in which the Saxons found themselves—in possession of regularly cultivated fields, of towns, of ports—must, of necessity, have led to a change in the forms of their civil institutions, though the fact of their constituting the great majority of the population of the districts in which they settled, enabled them to keep inviolate the republican spirit of those institutions, embodied in the practice of Election.—*Penny Cyclopædia*: Article BOROUGH.

*dale*, the chapelries of *Caton*, *Gressingham*, *Overton*, *Poulton*, and *Over-Wyresdale*, and the townships of *Aldcliff*, *Ashton-with-Stodday*, *Bare*, *Bulk*, *Heaton-with-Oxcliff*, *Middleton*, *Quernmoor*, *Scotforth*, *Sker-ton*, *Thurnham*, and *Torrisholme*; and, in the hundred of *Amounderness*, the townships of *Fulwood*, *Myerscough*, and *Preesall-with-Hackinsall*, and the chapelries of *Bleasdale*, and *Stalmine-with-Stanall*. Acres 66,000.

The TOWNSHIP of LANCASTER is situated on the southern bank of the *Lune*, and contains most part of the town. Acres of the township, 1,240.

The TOWN of LANCASTER stands in a highly picturesque situation of a bold eminence, the summit of which is crowned with the bastions of the castle, and the lofty tower of St. *Mary's* church, and commands extensive, varied, and interesting views; in which the winding of the river, with its bridges, the expanded bay of *Morecambe*, the mountains of *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Yorkshire*, and the beautiful vale of *Lonsdale*, constitute prominent features. A. P. £34,117.

The BOROUGH of LANCASTER is exceedingly ancient, probably one of the oldest in the kingdom. We have not been able to meet with any authentic account of its first institution.

The BOUNDARIES of the borough, by the Act for settling and describing the division of counties, and the limits of cities and boroughs,\* defines LANCASTER, in the "*Northern* division of the county of LANCASTER," "from the point on the river *Lune* at which the respective boundaries of the town-

\* 2 and 3 Will. IV., cap. 64, sched. O, s. 19.

ships of LANCASTER, *Skerton*, and *Heaton-with-Ox-cliff* meet, *westward*, along the boundary of the township of LANCASTER to the point at which the respective boundaries of the townships of LANCASTER, *Bulk*, and *Quernmoor* meet; *northward*, along the canal from *Preston* to *Kendal*, to the fourth bridge over the same from the aqueduct; thence, in a straight line, to the point at which *Bracken-lane* meets *Scale-lane*; thence, along *Scale-lane* to the point at which the same meets the river *Lune*; thence, along the river *Lune*, to the point first described."

The ANCIENT JURISDICTION of LANCASTER appears to have included a part of the forest of *Quernmoor*, which probably comprised the modern township of that name. This forest was perambulated by the Corporation, from the first grant of pasturage, by the earl of *Moreton*, until 1809, every seventh year. In 1811, an Act for the inclosure of the remainder of the forest of *Quernmore* was obtained, and from that time the perambulation has been confined to the limits of the borough.\*

The NAME,—LANCASTER derives its name from its situation on the river *Lune*—the *Lune Castle*. Various other derivations have been given.

A.D. 1135, when *Stephen* ascended the throne, he made his son, *William de Blois*, earl of *Moretagne*† and *Boloigne*, lord of the honour of LANCASTER.

\* Baines, vol. iv., p. 507.

† The earldom of *Moretagne*, in Normandy, was frequently in the royal family. Henry I. gave it to his nephew, Stephen of Blois, afterwards king of England. It was settled on William Plantagenet, youngest brother to Henry II.; but how or when it came into the

In the year 1138, while *David*, king of *Scotland*, was engaged in the siege of *Norham*, he detached the *Picts*, and part of his [*Scottish*] army, under command of *William*, son of *Duncan*, his nephew, into *Yorkshire*. Here having obtained a victory, they laid waste the possessions of a celebrated monastery, which was situated in *Suthernesse*,\* and the province called *Crafna*, with fire and sword. In this work of destruction, neither rank, age, sex, nor condition, was spared; children were most cruelly murdered before the faces of their parents', masters before their servants, servants before their masters, husbands in sight of their wives, and wives in the presence of their husbands. Matrons and virgins of rank were carried away indiscriminately with other plunder: these, being stripped naked and bound together with thongs, were goaded along in troops, with the points of swords and lances. Similar outrages, but never to the same extent, had been committed in former wars. In their march northward, however, some of the captors, touched with compassion, set their prisoners at liberty, as offerings to the church of

possession of Earl John, is variously related. By the original authors of English history, it is usually written, *Moreton*. In Sandford's "*Geneol. Hist.*" three grants are quoted in which John styles himself "*Comes Moritonie*."

\* If, as is most probably the case, this should be read *Furtherness*, for *Furness* (the *ness* a promontory of *Foothier*), and in the foundation charter of that abbey, in 1126, this district is called *Fudernesia*, it is not in *Yorkshire*, but *Lancashire*, and so near *Lancaster* that we may conclude its inhabitants were at that time subject to such afflictions as are above described. In this expedition the battle of *Clitheroe* was fought between the same *William Fitz Duncan*, and the troops of King *Stephen*, when the latter was routed with great slaughter, and many led away captive.

St. *Mary*, at *Carlisle*; but the barbarous *Picts* dragged away their wretched captives, without mercy, into their own country. In short, these brutal savages, to whom adultery and incest were familiar, after they were fatigued with acts of lust and violence, either retained their female captives as slaves in their own houses, or sold them, like cattle, to other barbarians.\*

In A.D. 1189, *Richard I.*† shewed great kindness to his brother, *John Sans-terre*. Earl *Hugh's* son not being of age, he gave him the earldom of *Moreton*, and besides conferring upon him the crown of *Ireland*, bestowed upon him such extensive preferments in *England*, that he was, in a manner, a tetrach there. He made him earl, and presented him with the honour of LANCASTER.

*Richard I.* also made a grant to *Theobald de Walton*, in the following terms:—"Know ye that we have given, and by this present charter confirmed to, *Theobald Walton*, for his homage and services, all *Agmonderness*, with all the other appurtenances."

This *Theobald* served the office of sheriff, by himself and deputies, the 6, 7, 9, and 10 *Richard I.*† This great man, in 1 *Richard I.*, paid into the

\* Richardus prior Hagustald, p. 318, ss. 6, p. 2 and 3.

† On the demise of King Henry II., in the year 1189, his son Richard assumed the reins of government. King Richard was named *Cœur-de-Lion*, for his invincible courage; and soon after the ceremony of his coronation, made preparations for the crusades; but as he was suspicious that his brother John might seize the crown during his absence, he conferred several favours on him, to secure his grateful fidelity. In addition to the earldom of Gloucester which Prince John already enjoyed, Richard invested him with six earldoms, namely, those of Somerset, Cornwall, Dorset, Nottingham, Derby, and LANCASTER.



office of the exchequer for scutage, for the honour of LANCASTER, the sum of £76 : 6 : 8.

The first charter granted to the burgesses, of which we have any account, is that of King *John*, while earl of *Moreton*, A.D. 1188,\* which confers upon "his burgesses of LANCASTER" the liberties of *Bristol*, as follows:—

"John, earl of Moreton,† to all his men and friends of France and England, Wales, and Ireland, present and future, sends health. Know ye, that I have granted, and, by this present Charter, have confirmed to my burgesses of Bristol, dwelling within the walls and without, as far as the boundary of the town, all their liberties and free customs, as well, freely and completely (or more so); as they ever had them in my time, or in the time of my predecessors. But the liberties they granted them are these, viz., that no burgess of Bristol shall plead or be impleaded out of the walls of the town in any plea, except pleas relating to foreign tenures, which do not belong to the hundred of the town, and that they shall be quit of murder within the bounds of the town. And that no burgess shall wage duel unless he shall have been appealed, for the death of any stranger, who was killed in the town and did not belong to the

\* It is difficult to assign the proper date of this charter. It could not be earlier than 1183, nor later than 1189.

† This important charter is illustrative of the state of laws, commerce, society, and manners, at the remote period when it was granted; yet the reader can receive but little gratification from a retrospect of the almost incredible ignorance and vassalage which then prevailed, not only throughout England, but the nations of Europe in general. When William I. parcelled out this kingdom to his Norman adventurers, he also gave the inhabitants of the manors as vassals to cultivate the soil. Hence a numerous class of men called *villaines*, who inhabited the villages, were obliged to work for their lord without reward; they were incapable of acquiring property by inheritance, industry, or gift, their money, goods, and lands being seizable at the option of the baron, who was only restrained by the common law from maiming or killing his vassals, or ravishing the female slaves or *nieves*. But another class of men, who were free in their person, obtained a livelihood by working as journeymen at the few trades then known, or as day-labourers in agriculture. The majority of the inhabitants of the walled towns or boroughs [the meaning of the word borough was, originally, a walled town], were, however, the property of some lord; they held tenements, called *burgages*, at his will, and worked at some trade by his permission, paying him whatever part of the profits of their industry, he might think proper to require. The trades at that period were few, and such as contributed to supply the necessities of the community, particularly those of mason, carpenter, smith, baker, butcher, clothier, and tailor; but the conquest of England by the Normans, gradually introduced whatever useful or elegant in dress, furniture, or building, was then known on the Continent. Architecture, particularly the ancient Gothic style, which gives such an air of grandeur to the churches and monasteries, was also introduced at this period, and various improvements in the art of fortification were adopted in the construction of castles.—*Cory's Bristol*, vol. i., p. 203, 204, 8vo., Bristol.

town. And that no one shall take an inn\* within the walls by assignment or by livery of the Marshall, against the will of the burgesses. And that they shall be quit of toll and lastage,† and pontage, and of all other customs throughout my whole land and power. And that no one shall be condemned in a matter of money, unless according to the law of the hundred, viz., by forfeiture of 40s. And that the said Hundred Court shall be held only once a week. And that no one, in any plea, shall be able to argue his cause in miskenning. And that they may lawfully have their lands, and tenures, and mortgages, and debts, throughout my whole land, whoever owes them anything. And that with respect to lands and tenures which are within the town, they shall be held by them duly according to the custom of the town. And that with regard to debts which have been lent in Bristol, and mortgages there made, pleas shall be held in the town, according to the custom of the town. And that if any one in any other place in my land, shall take toll of the men of Bristol, if he shall not restore it after he shall be required, the Prepositor of Bristol shall take from him a distress at Bristol and force him to restore it. And that no stranger tradesman shall buy, within the town, of a man who is a stranger, leather, corn, or wool, but only of the burgesses. And that no stranger shall have a wine shop, unless in a ship, nor sell cloth for cutting, except at the fair. And that no stranger shall remain in the town with his goods, for the purpose of selling, but for forty days. And that no burgess shall be confined or distrained any where else within my lands or power for any debt unless he be debtor or surety. And that they shall be able to marry themselves, their sons, their daughters, and their widows, without the license of their lords. And that no one of their lords shall have the wardship or the disposal of their sons or daughters on account of the lands out of the town, but only the wardship of their tenements which belong to their own fee, until they shall be of age. And that there shall be no recognition in the town. And that no one shall take tyne in the town, unless for the use of the lord earl and that according to the custom of the town. And that they may grind their corn wherever they shall choose. And that they may have all their reasonable guilds as well or better than they had them in the time of Robert and his son William, earls of Gloucester. And that no burgess shall be compelled to bail any man unless he himself chooses it although he be dwelling on his land. We also have granted to them all their tenures within the walls and without, as is aforesaid, in messuages, in copses, in buildings, on the water, and elsewhere, wherever they shall be in the town to be held in free burgage, namely, by land-gable service, which they shall pay within the walls. We have granted also that any of them may make improvements as much as they can in erecting buildings anywhere on the bank and elsewhere, so it is without

\* In the Statutum Wallie, 12 Edward I. (1284), the sheriffs are directed, amongst other official duties, to enquire "de hospitantibus ignotis ultra duas noctes."

† From the Saxon word *last* (a burden), such as we should now call *portage*, or *ballage*: a right claimed by certain servants of the lord of the fee, of carrying goods purchased at fair or market; and the money exacted for that service.

damage of the borough and town. And that they shall have and possess all void grounds and places which are contained within the aforesaid boundaries to be built on at their pleasure. Wherefore I will, and firmly enjoin, that my burgesses aforesaid, and their heirs, shall have and hold all their aforesaid liberties and free customs as is written above, of me and my heirs as well and as completely (or more so) as ever they had them, in good times well and peaceably, and honorably, without any hindrance or molestation which any one may offer them on that account. Witness, &c.

A confirmation of this Charter was granted by Henry III., in the thirty-sixth year of his reign A.D. 1262, in which is a recital of all these grants, and in some passages, one charter may serve to explain the other. The frequent confirmation of Charters from Magna Charta to that of the most insignificant borough was occasioned by a doubt (which seems to have been entertained in other governments of Europe) whether the reigning monarch was bound by the acts of his predecessor.

These privileges were, that no burgess should sue or be sued out of Lancaster. That they should be free from murder and duel, (i.e. the fine claimed by the king, or the lord, from the hundred or township, where murder had been committed, and the murderer had not been apprehended;) that no one should take an *inn* without the leave of the burgesses, by no means what we now call an inn, but rather a *lodging-house*, similar to what the Inns of Court originally were, or the Halls in our Universities; that they should be quit of all toll, lastage, pontage, and all other customs throughout his whole land and power; i.e. from passage, loaden horses, carriages, driving swine money and bridge-money throughout all his lands, for all manner of their own proper goods which they shall either sell or buy;\* and that if toll be taken distress may be levied; that none should be condemned in a matter of money, unless by the law of the hundred by paying forfeiture of forty shillings.

A.D. 1199, The earl of *Moreton*, on ascending the throne as King *John*, abrogated his former charter, so far as regards the liberties of *Bristol*, instead whereof he conferred upon the borough the liberties which the late king, his father, had granted to *Northampton*, and confirmed the other grants contained in the charter. The most important of the liberties claimed under the charter of 1 *John*, at the present day, are an exemption from toll

\* Atkyn's Gloucestershire, p. 77.

throughout all *England*,\* and the ports of the sea, a Court of Pleas of all debts contracted at LANCASTER, with power to choose a Mayor annually, and all other liberties and free customs of the citizens of *London*.

The liberties of *Northampton*, according to the grant of *Richard I.* were allowed and enrolled in the Guildhall, of the city of *London*, in the year 1361. An exemption of King *John's* charter was sent by the corporation of *Northampton* to LANCASTER, and appears, notwithstanding the peculiarity of the wording of King *John's* charters, to have been received as comprising the liberties thereby conferred on the burgesses of LANCASTER only. It was so pleaded and allowed in a *Quo*

\* The following curious document shows the importance attached to this grant :—

"To all and singular Justices and Keepers of the Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, Aldermen, Constables and other Officers, Ministers and faithful liege Subjects of our Lord the King to whom these Presents shall come, Thomas Hinde, Esq., Mayor of the borough or town of Lancaster, in the county of Lancaster greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Know ye that the said borough of Lancaster is an ancient borough, and that all the burgesses thereof have and enjoy, and from time immemorial have had and enjoyed the liberties, privileges, and immunities to be exonerated and acquitted of all toll, as passage toll, bridge toll, stallage, poundage, tunnage, lastage, and also of all other exactions and demands whatsoever, for all their wares and merchandizes bought or sold throughout the whole kingdom of England, as also through every seaport, and islands, cities, ports, and towns of Ireland, Wales, or Man; and which our lord James the First, late king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, by his letters patent under the Great Seal of England, granted and confirmed to his burgesses of his borough aforesaid and their successors for ever, and the liberties, privileges and immunities aforesaid; according to the tenor of divers charters of the ancestors and predecessors of our lord the king to the same burgesses and their successors granted from the time of the reign of the late king John, and by our lord Charles the Second late king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, to the same burgesses by his letters patent, and charters and powers remaining with the said burgesses, will more fully and at

*Warranto* against the Corporation of LANCASTER, in the time of *Edward I.* By this charter, the burgesses claimed an annual fair, and a market every Saturday. This charter was confirmed by *Henry III.*, in 1226.

To this period may perhaps be referred the records of the following tenures in this town:—

Roger the carpenter holds x acres of land in Lancaster of ancient feoffment, by the service of being carpenter in the castle of Lancaster, and it is worth 5s. William the Gardener holds vii. acres of land there, by the service of finding potherbs and leeks in the castle, and his land is worth 2s. 4d. Roger Blundus holds lands here by the serjeantry of being carpenter; and his land is worth 3s. per annum. Roger Fitz-John holds lands here, by the serjeantry of being smith, his land is worth 3s. per annum. Roger Albus holds viii acres there by carpentry. Roger Fitz-John holds xii acres, and shall make the irons of the king's ploughs for two manors yearly. William Fitz-Matthew holds one messuage and one garden for gardening. Gilbert Fitzmatthew, one messuage by gardening.\*

In 3 *John* (1202), *Robert de Tateshall* rendered an account of two shillings from *Benedict Gernet*, for the fee-farm of a house in LANCASTER which had been *John de Caton's*, for the two years past.

large appear. Which said premises I not only testify to you by the tenor of these presents, but also that Thomas Townley of Over Wyresdale, in the said county, husbandman, is a burgess admitted and sworn to the liberties of the same borough or ville of Lancaster aforesaid. Wherefore, I the aforesaid Mayor, specially require that whenever the said Thomas Townley or his servants shall come to the cities, ports, towns, or other places within the kingdom of England, or to the ports and islands of Ireland, Wales, or Man, with his goods, wares, or merchandizes, that he and they shall be freed and acquitted of all passage-toll, bridge-toll, stallage, poundage, tunnage, lastage, and all other exactions, according to the grants aforesaid. In witness whereof to these presents, I the aforesaid Mayor have put the seal of my office, this ninth day of December, in the tenth year of the reign of our most gracious sovereign lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-Nine."

THOMAS HINDE, Mayor.

\* Testa de Nevill, fo. 372, 401, 409, 410, 407.

In the reign of King *John*, the burgesses held one carucate in LANCASTER, in free burgage, by the king's charter, at a rent of xx. marks:—\*

"Et predicti burgenses dicunt quod Rogerus Pictaviensis dedit Warino Parvo dimid. bov. terre in Lancaster et ipse illam tenuit, usque ipse et uxor sua se reddiderunt in religionem in domo de Furness. Et monasterium de Furness illam terram libere tenuit usque ad adventum Galfridi de Valoniis. Ipse vero noluit ut villa Dni Reg. ingrata esset, et seixivit illam terram in manus D. Reg. et fecit burgagia de ea, et fecerunt consuetudinem, sicut alii, et jurati fuerunt ad arma, et sic fuerunt usque ad adventum D'ni Com. de Morton, qui nunc est rex."

King *John* gave audience, in the castle, to the *French* ambassadors, and also here received homage from *Alexander II.* king of the *Scots*, whom he had vanquished.†

\* Whitaker, vol. ii., p. 474.

† A late author, without referring to any record, but taking his materials from printed compilations, has asserted that this homage was performed by Alexander for all the kingdom of Scotland; but nothing can be more false, nor was it ever asserted by any historian of credit. That an oath of homage had been extorted from his father William, by Henry II., while he was his prisoner, is certain, but although every confession made in a state of bondage, is void in law, yet we find in *Rymer's Foedera*, a writ dated from Canterbury signed by Richard I., wherein he disclaims the homage paid by William, king of Scotland, because it was neither obtained by his own free consent, nor ever acknowledged by his subjects. Had the gentleman who wrote the book alluded to, looked into the manuscripts now in the Cottonian Library, he would have seen the original copy of the oath, sworn by Alexander to king John where it mentions expressly that he did him homage as his liege lord for the county of Cumberland, which at that time included what we now call Westmoreland, Northumberland, and some part of the county of York, besides Cumberland already mentioned; and the same oath expressly mentions that he did homage for those counties, *saving his royal dignity* as king of Scotland. The meaning of which is, that as a peer of England he did acknowledge John his liege lord for all the lands he held in his kingdom; but as for Scotland it stood wholly exempted. Some real protestant historians of great credit, who have written in the present age, appear to be ignorant of the facts here laid down, and they are stifled by Mr. Carte and Dr. Brady, who except Lord Lytleton, had the best opportunities of searching the originals.—*Spencer's Lancashire*, folio. p. 340.

In 1226, letters patent were granted for paving the town.\*

The 20 *Edward I.* was a year fruitful in cases of Quo Warranto, and the bailiffs and commonalty of LANCASTER were summoned to show by what right they claimed exemption from toll, stallage, and lastage, throughout all the king's cities and ports in *England*; from suits of county and wapentake; also by what right they claimed to have a free borough, market, fair, assize of bread and beer, pillory, tumbril, infang-thef, and gallows in LANCASTER. *Lambert*, the bailiff, *Thomas de Lancaster*, *Robert de Chatterton*, and *William le Chaunter* appeared on behalf of the commonalty, and produced the charter of king *John*, by which he granted and confirmed to his burgesses of LANCASTER all the liberties which the king's burgesses of *Northampton* enjoyed at the time of the death of king *Henry* his father, in room of the liberties of the city of *Bristol*, which he had granted to them when he was earl of *Moreton*. Moreover, he claimed for the said burgesses, freedom from suits of his mill, water, and all other servile customs; that their beasts of the town of LANCASTER might pasture for the day in his forest, as his own beasts were accustomed; that the burgesses might have as much dead wood from his forest, for burning, and as much other wood as was necessary for building, "*per visum forester' suor.*" Moreover, he produced another charter by which was granted to them that they might have a free borough, a market every week on Saturday, and a fair every year

\* Pat. Rot., 17 John.

commencing on the vigil of *St. Michael*, and lasting eleven continuous days, and all other liberties in that brief contained. And by the various charters he claimed that they should enjoy all the liberties and privileges aforesaid. And *William Inge*, who followed on behalf of the king affirmed that in the aforesaid charters not one of the aforesaid liberties was contained, and therefore claimed a verdict for the crown. He, moreover, affirmed that the men of LANCASTER did not hold their market and fair on the days and at the time in which the men of *Northampton* held theirs, for that the men of *Northampton* held their fair at the feast of *All Saints*, and that it lasted for three weeks by the king's special charter; that they had not shown any special right to use and enjoy those liberties which they claimed, nor could it be said that they had enjoyed them time out of mind; that the aforesaid liberties were worth sixteen and a-half marks per annum, which the sheriff was commanded to raise, and which the burgesses were allowed three weeks to pay in. And three weeks after *Michaelmas*, the aforesaid burgesses paid at *Appleby*, by the hands of their attornies *William le Chaunter* and *Lancelot de Bulke*, the said sum of sixteen and a half marks, wherefore the aforesaid liberties were granted to them, and the deed enrolled at *Westminster*.\*

\* Placita de Quo Warranto et Rageman' coram Hugone de Cressingham et sociis suis Justic' Itinerant' apud Lancaster' in 8bis. See Trinitatis Anno Regis Eduardi Henrici vicesimo.

The style of the Corporation is first mentioned in the pleadings in this *Quo Warranto*, "Ballivus et Communitas Burgi de Lancastera." A mayor, two bailiffs and twelve capital burgesses are named in the bye-laws of the corporation, which were examined and ratified in 36 Edward III.; they were again ratified in 14 Elizabeth. The ratification of them by Edward III., appears only in the recital of Elizabeth.



A record of pleadings at *York*, in *Michaelmas* term, 29—30, *Edward I.*, preserved in the *Chapter House*, states that an allowance was made in the long plea to the burgesses of LANCASTER respecting the liberties granted to them by king *John*, and for the convening of the burgesses, by writ of certiorari, directed to the treasurer and chamberlain, by judgement of the court,\* but whether this refers to the Quo Warranto or not, does not appear. In this year a pontage was granted to the town.

In the following reign the county of LANCASTER, suffered from the devastations of the *Scots*, by whom it was several times invaded. One of the incursions was made, 13 *Edward II.*,† but after the defeat of that monarch by *Robert Bruce* at *Bannockburn*, ancient LANCASTER was consigned to the flames, and the castle alone survived the fury of the conquerors, though it did not escape the marks of their violence. The town of LANCASTER, which was gradually re-built, spread into the valley, and took the Castle-hill as its western boundary. It was probably owing to this calamity, that in 17 *Edward II.*, the assizes of the county were held at *Preston* by the two judges, who were so intimidated on this occasion by a party of armed men under the conduct of *Henry Gellibrand*, that they stayed their proceedings.‡

The repeated invasions of the *Scotch*, whose footsteps were marked with blood and desolation,

\* Placit. T. Mich. 29—30, *Edward I.* Ebor. Rot. 68.

† Rot. fin. 13 *Edward II.* m. 1.

‡ Placit. T. Mich. 17 *Edward II.* Ebor. Rot. 16.

plunged the northern parts of the kingdom into a state of the most abject poverty; and in 16 *Edward II.*, during the octaves of the nativity of *St. John the Baptist*, one of the most tremendous of their visitations befell this town and county: "*Robert Bruce*," says *Holinshed*, "entered into *England*, by *Carlisle*, kept on his way through *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *LANCASTER*, to *Preston*, which town he burnt, as he had done others in the counties he had passed through, and, after three weeks and three days, he returned into *Scotland*, without engaging." The *Ribble* seems to have been the line of demarcation, beyond the southern banks of which the invaders did not pass; but upon *Clitheroe* and *Ribchester*, as well as *LANCASTER* and *Preston*, they poured out the vials of their indignation. The battle between the adherents of *Adam Banastre* and those of *Thomas*, earl of *LANCASTER*, in the vale of the *Ribble*, at *Preston*, and its results, are described by *Baines*.\*

In this year, the tithes of *Merescogh*, *Fulwood*, and *Hyde Park*, were restored to the rectories of *Preston* and *LANCASTER*.†

A.D. 1325 and 1326, pontages were granted to the burgesses of *LANCASTER*.‡

18 *Edward II.* "*Willus de Slene et Alicia uxor ejus*," held twenty acres of land and six messuages in the town of *LANCASTER*.§

A.D. 1330, another pontage was granted.||

\* Vol. i., 475, 6.

† Regist. St. Mariæ de Lan. MS., fo. 22. Baines, iv., p. 307.

‡ 18 *Edward II.* Prim. Pat. and 1 *Edward III.* 3, and ult. Pat. m. 20.

§ Esceat. eod. ann.

|| 4 *Edward III.* Secund. Pat. m. 40.

In A.D. 1340, paviage was granted for the town of LANCASTER, and another two years afterwards.\*

Edward III. confirmed the former charters, and granted a market on *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*, a fair at *Michaelmas* for fifteen days, and at *Midsummer* for three days, and a "Guilda Mercatoria."† This charter fixed the assizes at LANCASTER, by the important grant "*Quod omnia placita et sessiones ibidem teneantur et non alibi.*"

\* 13, 15, Edward III. Prim. Pat. m. 15 and 23.

† Guilds existed during the Heptarchy. Originally they were a kind of sick club, and the contributions, the processions, and the convivality of our modern benefit societies have a close resemblance to the guilds before the Conquest.

There were also "Guilds Merchant" established in sea-ports, in the times of the Saxons, and these were fraternities constituted for the purpose of carrying on more successfully commercial enterprises with Hanse privileges.

The "guilda" or "gilda mercatoria," or merchant's guild, is a privilege to merchants, enabling them to hold certain pleas of land, &c. within their own precincts, and is confirmed by act of parliament, in the 37 Edward III., and 15 Richard II. It is of Saxon origin, by which certain communities stipulate with each other, to punish crimes, to make good losses, and acts of restitution in proportion to offences. Fraternities and guilds, therefore, are of ancient use, long before formal licenses were granted: at this day, a *guild* implies a company united together, with private laws and orders, after license obtained from the king for that purpose.—*Beauties of England and Wales*, iv., 111, 112.

In 1688, six companies of trades were incorporated with the approbation of the judges of assize. These companies were—1, of plumbers, glaziers; barbers; surgeons; saddlers; whitesmiths; cutlers. 2, shoemakers. 3, butchers. 4, tailors. 5, carpenters; joiners; coopers; rope-makers. 6, weavers; gardeners; fullers; dyers; and sellers of salt. These incorporations have long ceased to exist; and since the discontinuance of the stallage rate, which was an annual fine upon all non-freemen exercising certain trades within the borough, the internal trade of Lancaster, is, with the exception of a small market toll levied upon non-freemen, entirely free and unrestrained.—*Baines*, iv. p. 505.—See *Autobiography of William Stout*, p. 30 31.

In 1362, the following Constitutions and Orders used in the town of LANCASTER, were examined, and ratified, in the 36th year of the reign of *Edward III.*:—

CONSTITUTIONS AND ORDERS.—These be the old constitutions and orders used in the town of Lancaster, examined and ratified the xxxvjth. year of the reign of king Edward second\* after the conquest, as by the records thereof may appear.

1. First, That the courts of the towne of Lancaster shall be holden and kept every week upon Thursday, except it should be deferred to another day of the same week for a cause reasonable. Also that the two *head courts* shall be holden and kept every year in the said town; that is to say, the one upon the Thursday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, and the other upon the Thursday next after Low-Sunday; unto which courts all the burgesses of the said town shall come and personally appear when they are called. And if any man make default, should be amerced in 6d., without pardon, except a reasonable cause be found for the same his absence by the mayor and bailiffs.

2. Also, that at the *first head court* holden upon Thursday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist as is aforesaid, before the chusing of the mayor, the mayor shall say to the serjeant, "make one O yes, thrice"; that done the mayor shall say to the clerk "read the constitutions for this day," and the clerk shall read it, and the serjeant shall rehearse it after the clerk in these words, "forasmuch as it is ordained "by constitution, that no stranger that is an unsworn and foreign burgess shall be in our court the time of chusing of our mayor and bailiffs "because of great debate and strife that hath happened amongst us "through maintenance of such strangers being in our court the day of the "chusing; the which hath burdened the commons to great harm and loss "of their goods, and disherision of our franchises. Wherefore, we com- "mand of the king's behalf, and the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty "of the town of Lancaster, that no man but taken sworn burgess dwelling within this town abide any longer within this court to the time "that the mayor and bailiffs be chosen, and whoever maintaineth "against this constitution shall lose his franchises from this time forth;" and if any stranger or foreigner be in the court and will not go forth, or the mayor and bailiffs peradventure dare not put him out, then the election or chusing shall be deferred unto another day or hour, where twelve of the said town with the assent of the whole commonalty may appoint and order a place and time, where they may make the aforesaid election according to the form hereafter written; and if there be none but burgesses dwelling within the town in the court, after the proclamation aforesaid, who remains, then the mayor shall give up his office or else not.

3. And then the chusing of the mayor and bailiffs shall be made in the form following, that is to say, that upon the aforesaid day all twelve

\* A mistake for Edward III.

burgesses that appeared and were chosen to serve the year before in the office of twelve of the said town, shall be sworn and appointed by the mayor and bailiffs to go into a secret place to them assigned, and there shall put forth from among them such as they shall think most able to serve in the office of mayor for the year then next following, but notwithstanding those that shall be put forth shall give their voice every one secretly by himself, and then the residue of the twelve shall chuse to them by their oaths until there be forty of the residue of the burgesses most discreet and agreeing, being and appearing there the said day and by their oath not by any means . . . but that they will then and there say the truth, having no reward nor let for affinity, consanguinity, . . . love or hatred of any man; and if any man refuse so to be sworn, he shall be put out from among them; and then the mayor shall be chosen by those forty, and the voice of them that shall be put forth, or the more part of them, provided always that no one shall be chosen to be mayor except he was bailiff afore of the same town, or else mayor before; and that all burgesses shall give their voices privily and secretly every one by himself upon his new oath, without fraud, favour, or counsel, to him that is most able and discreet that he knoweth, that can best order and rule the town, and maintain the franchises, liberties, and duties appertaining to the same town.

4. Also, that after the mayor is chosen, xij of the best of those that are put forth of the forty shall choose one bailiff and the rest of the said forty shall choose another bailiff with the assent of the residue of the commonalty there being.

5. Also, that every year at the said court of chusing of mayor and bailiffs, afore election of them, all the keys of the common chest, and all deeds, muniments, and writings being not in the said chest in whose hands soever they be shall be laid in open court upon the [table] and there let lye until the mayor and bailiffs be chosen. And then, after the chusing one key shall be delivered to the mayor new chosen, and one other to the bailiffs new chosen, and the third to one burgess chosen by the commonalty, and the fourth shall remain in custody of the mayor until the xij be chosen; and then the mayor at the next court following when the xij are chosen, the same day, immediately after, shall he deliver the said fourth key to one of the said xij by them chosen to keep it for all the xij so elected all that year unto the said court, under the which keys all deeds, muniments, and remembrances, with the common seal are put and locked.

6. Also, that at the first court following after the election of the mayor and bailiffs, the xij shall be chosen after this manner, that is to say, the mayor shall choose three or four at the most of them that were in the office of the xij the year afore and which be in the court that day, and he shall make them to swear to choose them other of their neighbours being burgesses most able, discreet, and agreeable to the number or xij to serve in the office of xij the year following.

7. Also, that no mayor being in the office of the mayor-ship shall sell no victuals the time he shall be in the said office, but at the sessions, and

that no bailiff shall sell bread or ale forth out of his house, nor put nor lay no bread nor ale forth of his house, nor put nor lay no bread to be sold in his or their windows, nor in the market under the pain of 3s. 4d. for every default.

8. Mayor and bailiffs to prove bread and ale once in the month at least.

9. No person to be mayor, bailiff, auditor, fearer, or pricker two years jointly together. No mayor or bailiff shall be pricker or auditor the year next after they have served the said office of mayor-ship or bailiff. And if any pricker disclose his fellow's council to forfeit his freedom or else to pay a new fine for the same.

10. Also, that the mayor shall keep his *comptroll* weekly in the *Tolbooth*. And also fearers and auditors to keep their *comptroll* yearly in the same *Tolbooth* at the days accustomed to.

11. All *foreign pleas* to be tried at the head court day appointed quarterly, and so often also as needs shall require. All pleas when both parties be freemen to be tried the next following Thursday.

12. Bailiffs to levy fines, americiaments and perquisites of the court &c., &c., and to make return from court to court every Thursday.

13. Bailiffs to give up and make their accounts every year, before the head court of election of mayor and bailiffs before two auditors, the one chosen by the xij head burgesses, and the other by the commonalty being at the next court or congregation before the election day. Provided always that no man meddle to take the said accompt but only the said auditors, before whom the bailiffs shall content and acknowledge their arrearages, if any be, the day of their accompting, or thereof shall find to the mayor and commonalty of the said town sufficient surety by obligation of doubling of their arrearages and debt to the town, to be paid within one month next after the audit kept, or else shall remayne in the mayor his prison and never to be put in office until he shall have satisfied the same debt. And if peradventure the mayor let them go out of the prison without the said surety, that then the mayor himself shall answer the commonalty aforesaid, of the said arrearages and debts.

14. Also, that no bailiff after that he shall be elected and sworn, shall not go beyond the seas or be without the town by the space of one month together, without the license of the mayor, the xij., and the commonaltie, under the pain of forfeiting his fee and office, notwithstanding but he shall make accompt of all the time that he occupied the said office; and that it shall be lawful to them and their neighbours that chose him to choose another bailiff in his stead to serve for all the residue of that year.

15. Also, bailiffs to receive the *passage* and *through* tolls, as also the *market* tolls by themselves or servants.

16. Neither the mayor nor any of the bailiffs to give any reward for the town, to any bear-wardens or minstrels, without the consent of four of the head burgesses and four of the commons . . . forfeit 6s. 8d.

17. That the bailiffs keep their banquets at Shrovetide and Easter,

and the bailiffs feasts to be landaway, and the town be charged with such matters at the audit.

18. Also, that if the mayor and bailiffs ~~do make~~ any cost in giving wine, victuals. or . . . to any person without the assent of the xij head burgesses—not to be allowed by the auditors at their accompt.

19. Bailiffs to ~~stallenge~~ artificers, merchants, and victuallers, only one penny on the Saturday.

20. Mayor ~~and~~ bailiffs to cause these constitutions to be read once every quarter in the presence of all the freemen.

21. No person that hath been imprisoned in the gaol for any felony ~~or~~ suspicion of felony, to remain in the town above three days after their discharge.

22. Mayor's serjeant to have no more wages at the town's cost, but only by the year—to be paid quarterly—6s. 8d.

23. The mayor, brethren, and bailiffs to have gowns.

24. The bailiffs' serjeant and bellman shall give attendance upon the mayor every Saturday and principal feast days, and when strangers be in the town.

25. As to arresting strangers in the houses of freemen.

26. As to arresting persons frequenting the fairs.

27. The serjeants and bellman to be attorneys in all foreign pleas.

28. Grass brought into the town for sale to be forfeited. The mayor always to appoint a convenient place for grass to be sold in.

29. Bellman not to carry away any hedging from the *Pinder-parrook*, nor take away the three yeats belonging to the town.

30. Serjeant of the commons or bellman to obey their masters, or forfeit 6d. for every default.

31. Also, that one *cobler* shall be chosen every year, within three hours after the election of the officers to the [corporators] to amend old shoes within this town, and if any man be so chosen by the [corporators] and afterwards at any time do refuse to serve in that office, he shall forfeit for every default 6d.

32. Also, that one *swyne herd* shall be yearly appointed to keep all the swine versyant within this town, as well in winter as in summer, upon the moor called "*Whermore*" above the Moor yeat, and the said swineherd to have wages and fees as followeth, viz., the mayor to pay xod., every one of the twelve head burgesses and the bailiffs 4d., every freeman having swine 4d. yearly, every stallerger having swine to pay according as they are assessed by four men appointed yearly.

33. Mayor, bailiff, serjeant, or under-bailiff to be a freeman, and to be sworn.

34. Also, that none shall be made burgesses within the said town, except he have dwelled here the space of one whole year at least, within which time his neighbours may know his conversation, manner, and behaviour, and that none shall receive the liberty to have . . . nor be sworn to be burgesses but at a head court . . . Every freeman's son to pay xxs., every apprentice xxvs. viiijd., and every stranger and foreign burgess to pay not less than . . . to be admitted to the freedom, and that none be admitted without a whole consent.

35. Freemen refusing to pay scot and lot to forfeit their freedom.

36. No person to be received to the liberties of the town unless they be of some science or craft.

37. Freeman defrauding the tolls or customs, or speaking against or withstanding any of these constitutions to lose his liberties.

38. Freemen to enroll apprentices.

39. No freeman shall set, lett, or sell his *fennen cars* room but one freeman to another, and to no foreigner or stranger upon pain to forfeit his *fennen cars* into the town hands for ever.

40. Also, it is constituted and agreed by xij. burgesses of Lancaster, and xij. of the king's tenants of Skerton and Slyne, that there shall be no man or woman sell their portions of the copyholds to no manner of persons except it be to their neighbour which shall already have one portion, and right and title to the same copyhold by reason of the king's lease, upon pain of forfeiting of their said part of the same copyholds during the continuance of the same lease they clayme by to their neighbours.

41. If any person give his goods to any other man, for fraud and deceit, he shall lose his liberties.

42. If any freeman make any complaint called *wrangling*, he shall lose his liberties.

43. Also, if any burgess or freeman be found in rebellion against any order to be made by the general assent of the court for the profit of the town and the commonalty, he shall lose, for every time, 3s. 4d.

44. Also, if there be any assembling together, or any conspiracy of any burgesses gathered together and sworn to make the mayor and burgesses before they come into full court, and upon these being lawfully proved, they, every one of them so doing, shall lose their liberties, never to be restored again, for their false swearing, and he or they whom they have so chosen, shall never be put in any office within the town, for it is considered by the discretion of the town that he or they shall lose the liberties of the town.

45. Freemen becoming pledged . . . . . to stand charged with the whole matter, &c.

46. There shall be none Mr. Mayor his brethren surety for any foreign matters, &c.

47. No freeman shall refuse to be sworn upon a jury, &c.

48. Also, that if any freeman do rayle or revile any man by any slanderous words, being sworn of a jury, that he shall lose his liberty or else be grievously fyned, and if it be by any other person being not free, to be committed to the gibbet, and if it be a woman, to the cockstoole.

49. Also, that if any person do rayle, chide, or flyte, and thereof be convicted, they shall be amerced, the first time, in xijd.; the second time in ijs.; the third time to be set upon the pillorie or cockstoole, or else shall make fyne and redemption at the will of Mr. Mayor and xij. head burgesses.

50. Also, that if any person do make a brawl or hubleshaw, he shall make no less fyne than 3s. 4d.. whether it be upon officer or other.



51. If any do break the peace,—fine 3s. 4d., if either upon an officer, either in the market, or if it be on the mayor his person, then to forfeit 6s. 8d. and more at the discretion of the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses, and every . . . of blood, 10s.

52. And if any person do rebell or make a rescue against the mayor or bailiffs—amerce 10s., and if he make rescue against the under-bailiffs and pinder, he shall be amerced 3s. 4d.

53. Also, if any troublesome person come to the town against the peace, to vex any body within the town, the common bell shall be rung a good while or space, and that all the town dwellers shall come unto the place where the said common bell is rung, arraied in the best manner they may, for defence of their own bodies, to arrest the said disturber so coming against the peace, under paine for every one that do absent themselves away, 6s. 8d.

54. No man shall talk in the Court after he shall be commanded of Mr. Mayor, or the bailiffs, or clerk, . . . to forfeit, first time, 2d.; second time, 4d.; and so to double so often as he doth the contrary of this Constitution.

55. No man to meddle in the Court except the complainant or defendand need him.

56. Also, that no man shall despise, set at naught, say evil by, or monish his neighbour against the peace, in the presence of Mr. Mayor or the bailiffs, upon pain to forfeit upon every default, 2s.

57. Also, if any burgesses, freemen, or town-dwellers, do labour unto any lord, master, or any other spiritual or temporal within the town dwelling, but to Mr. Mayor and the Council of the town for any trespass or matter whatsoever it be betwixt neighbour and neighbour, or any other, or any other matter to whomsoever it may belong, if it be a burgess or freeman to lose his liberty, and if he be no freeman or burgess, he shall be put forth of the town, and to make fine and redemption at the discretion of Mr. Mayor and the xij.

58. No inhabitore to take house or land within the liberty of the town except they have the good-will of the tenant.

59. That every freeman that shall occupy any of the town's lands or *Deep Carre*, shall have and occupy the same lands during their lives, and after their several deceases, if any of their children be made freemen, then they to have the same if they will pay so much for the same as shall be assessed by six head burgesses and six freemen, or else they that will give the most for it to have it.

60. Also, if any freeman be absent at any head court day, or not make answer at the first time when he is called before Mr. Mayor, he shall forfeit 6d., to be levied at his house immediately the same day, and further punishment at Mr. Mayor his pleasure, except the said freeman be sick, blind, lame, deaf; either diseased with such like infirmity or otherwise by license of Mr. Mayor.

61. Freemen to pay for arrest, 2d., and entering, 1d.

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62. No foreign stallenger to be sworn or taken into the town without consent of Mr. Mayor and xij. head burgesses.

63. That no person within this town take any inmate, or suffer any to dwell upon their backside, upon pain to forfeit, for every default, 10s.

64. Also that no stallenger shall mowe or sheare any brackens or bushes upon the common pasture till the freemen be spd. [supplied], under pain of 3s. 4d.

65. Also, that no stranger shall be suffered to come into the town to dwell till they be allowed by Mr. Mayor, his brethren, and xij. of the commons, to what science or craft they will take to.

66. Every inhabitant to keep watch and ward, and to find themselves harneys accordingly.

67. No foreigner to bake, or brew to sell . . . without license.

68. No stallenger shall buy any victuals or wares coming or come to the town to be sold, before the market bell be rung, until the burgesses of the same town have bought what they will.

69. Also, that no foreign burgesses, being admitted to the liberties of the town, shall claim thereby any interest in our common pasture.

70. All inhabitants to pay scot and lot.

71. None shall be punished or imprisoned in the Tolbooth but only freemen, and all drunkards and disordered persons to be imprisoned in the stock-house.

72. If any one be presented for any matter, nobody shall speak or make any labor for pardon of the said presentment.

73. If any man be sued or presented in the Court and have nothing to distrain upon, he shall not be taken into the town by any man, except he be able to satisfy as well the town as the party by sufficient surety.

74. No inn-holder shall refuse to lodge any stranger that seemeth to be honest and able to pay.

75. Also, that no bridal dinner shall be made within this towne of Lancaster above the price of 4d. the piece, under pain to forfeit under every default.

76. Also, that none shall make any new ales or rinteracks [?] within this towne, either bidd to any without the towne, or cause to be bidden to any in fare or house tything . . . . . 6s. 8d., and if any officers do license them, 6s. 8d.

77. Also, if any having ale to sell, refuse to sell forth to any body a penny worth or a half-penny worth, or what as they need, . . . shall forfeit 6d.

78. No alehouse to be kept open on the Sabbath day in the time of Divine service.

79. Also, that they which buy any malt in the market or elsewhere, within the town, let their eye be their chapman, for if it prove naught they shall have no remedy for it afterwards, except they can prove the seller thereof did warrant the same to be good.

80. Also, that there shall be no common ovens occupied within this towne, except the same stands in a substantial and sufficient waying, and be licensed by Mr. Mayor and towne, upon pain to forfeit for every

default, 3s. 4d., and to take no more wages for the same oven, but for every time it is made hot, 1d.; and, for the oven-hire, a half-penny.

81. Also, that if any man buy victuals or wares coming or to cometo the towne to be sold, and if any freeman come that needeth and would have part thereof, he shall grant the freeman part, after the quantity thereof, . . . . . 3s. 4d.

82. Also, that no man shall bargain or covenant any ship come to the towne, to sell or buy, until the ship have tarried and been in sure haven by the space of two days.

83. None shall take, stay, or forestall any victuals.

84. None to buy corn, grain, malt, or salt, before the common bell be rung.

85. No butcher shall sell any quarter of any beast mingled with any quarter of any other beast.

86. No butcher to sell any flesh of corrupt beasts.

87. No butcher to sell any flesh against the Assizes or fairs, until the flesh-lookers have had a sight of the flesh and skin.

88. Vagabonds or idle young persons to be carted or scourged forth of the towne.

89. Also, if any man be found, by inquest, a common vagabond, or a common eavesdropper standing under any man's eaves, walls, or windows, . . . fined 3s. 4d.

90. All the detected to be carted about the towne and then expelled forth of the towne.

91. No idle person to be kept or resetted, but such as are able to live of themselves.

92. Also, that all unlawful games be laid away, and young men commanded to buy bows and arrows.

93. Also, that no manner of person within this towne do keep, suffer, or let any man's apprentice, servant, or child to play in their houses at dice, cards, or any unlawful games, for any silver, . . . 6s. 8d.; and every gamester or player to forfeit 3s. 4d. or be committed to prison.

94. No person to lodge or resett any suspicious persons.

95. Common hedge-breakers to be put forth of the towne.

96. If any man have any lands or meadows lying or abutting upon the common pasture, the king's highway, the Marsh or Moor, he shall make his hedges and ditches sufficiently all the whole year.

97. Every man to repair his own hedge.

98. There shall be two appointed every year to go through the town, to see that every man have sufficient fuel.

99. None shall bear any stakes or wood—to the intent to keep any tipping or brewing.

100. None shall get any rushes upon the Marsh, but only to freemen's houses.

101. No man shall shear or mow any grass of his neighbour's, or come in the fields belonging to the town, . . . and the finder shall have all such instruments as the offenders get their grass withall, for the finding.

102. [Against burning whins and brackens on the Moor.]
103. } [As to *driving* the Moor.]
104. }
105. None shall dry or rate any hemp or lyne upon the common pasture called the *Green Ayre*.
106. None to dry hemp or flax over the fire.
107. That no man make any path-way over his neighbour's ground.
108. That every man anent his own front door between the Cooock-stoole and *Caukald* shall make and uphold the way sufficiently betwixt the fleet and their Garth ends before Michaelmas next, so to mend and uphold the same from time to time.
109. None shall carry or worarry any wain laden, or unladen, trees, or other carriage over Lancaster bridge above the draught or carriage of a horse . . . 6s. 8d.
110. Also that the occupiers of the *Girgarth* shall feigh and cleanse their ditches in such sort, that the great water standing in the *Choney-lane* may descend, and have his course through the backside of the house now in the holding of Thos. Singleton.
111. No person shall let down the Castle ditch to water clay or thatch withall, above the space of three quarters of an hour at any one time.
112. Mr. Mayor shall appoint some convenient person to oversee and keep the said Castle ditch to the use and profit of the town, and give him some reward for his pains.
113. None to keep sacks of corn, meal, malt, or salt from Saturday to Saturday.
114. Badgers not to leave litter straw, &c., in the market-place.
115. Sealers of leather to have their fees limited by the statute.
116. No barkers which useth to buy any skins, shall be stallenged at the beginning of the year.
117. No shoemaker to sell shoes unless they be sufficiently tanned and curried.
118. None shall drive horses or beasts loose through the fields.
119. No person to bart or tedder any horses in the town fields.
120. No person shall keep any scabbed horse or mare in the common pasturage or town fields.
121. None shall keep any unlawful dogs, or such as will worry sheep.
122. None shall leave meat arks or forms in the street from Saturday to Saturday.
123. No person shall mett any meal, saving or by the seller or such other person as shall be nominated by the mayor and six of his brethren, for the purpose.
124. None shall winnow any corn upon the pavement or in the streets.
125. No man shall break open the pavement without the license of an officer, to be made again within three days.
126. Every person shall keep clean the street and pavement anent his own front.
127. No person shall sett any cart or carr in the open street.

128. None shall suffer whins or moins to lie anent their doors above the space of two days together.

129. No man shall lie draw, or cart any dead beast or carrion, &c. afore any man's dore.

130. No butcher shall cart bowells, blood, or such like corruption, into the street.

131. None shall lie any donge in the street upon the pavement, but remove the same at all times upon six days' warning, also to remove it a day before any fair or sessions, whether commanded or no.

132. No man to cart manure or turn water near his neighbour's wall, or upon his neighbour's house or garden.

133. None to lay dong, worthing, or compost in *Chainey-lane*, *Penny-street*, nor in any other street.

134. No person within the town to sell any donge or compost forth of the town.

135. None shall put ditching or feying in the street, upon his neighbour but every one take away the same anent his own front.

136. That none brew, wash clothes, or any vile thing, either beast, inmates, or do any other unwholesome or filthy thing in or about the *Stone Well*, the ware, or any other common well about this town.

137. No person to get clay before the Castle gates.

138. No man shall take his neighbours' stones, being in the quarries.

139. That sheep shall be kept forth of the fields from the feast of St. Andrew, yearly, until the corn be inned.

140. That geese shall be kept forth of the fields from Easter day, yearly, until corn be gotten in.

141. That calves be kept forth of the fields from Hallow Thursday to corn be gotten.

142. That swine shall be yearly kept of the fields from the beginning of seed time until corn be inned, upon pain to forfeit, for every default, 4d.

In 43, 47, and 49 *Edward III.*, *John de Dalton*, clerk, and *Robert Holland*, and *Robert de Dacre*, held land respectively in LANCASTER. *Oger de Lancaster* released to the monks of *Furness* a toft and a croft in *St. Mary's-street*, in LANCASTER. *Adam*, son of *Harold de Lancaster*, confirmed lands here to *St. Mary*, of *Furness*.\* *Robert*, son of *Adam de Roos*, gave a burgage called *Le Stanes*, in LANCASTER, with two acres and half an acre of the field called *Estenbreck*.†

\* West's Appendix, xi., 59.

† Ibid, 82.

A.D. 1373, being 47 *Edward III.*, the following precept of *Richard de Towneley*, sheriff of *Lancashire*, addressed to the bailiff of *Lunesdale*, to collect an aid, on occasion of the marriage of the eldest daughter of *John of Gaunt*, will show not only the different values of all the manors and townships in *Lunesdale*, according to the assessments, but in many of the most important instances, the names of their lords:—

Ricardus Towneley, Vicecomes Lancastriensis, ballivo de Lunesdale, salutem.

Præcipimus quod levare facias omnes denarios subscriptos, videlicet, rationabile auxilium Johanni Regi Castiliæ et Legionis et Duci Lancaster ad filiam primogenitam maritandam.

De Robto de Nevile, chev, pro i. feod. mil. in Hornby and Melling .....	xvs.
De Domino de Dacre et percenar' su. pro ivta. parte feod. mil. in Tatham and Ireby .....	vs.
De Thomas de Gersingham pro viijta. parte f. m. in Gersingham .....	ijjs. vjd.
De W. de Burgh, pro xxta. parte in Middleton .....	xvd.
De Abb'te de Furnese pro i. feod. in Aldyngham et xvj. p'te ibidem .....	xvs. xvd.
De eodem pro xij parte et med. in Ulverstone .....	vis. viijd.
De Tho. de Thwenge pro ivta. pte. in Ellal et Scotforth ..	vs.
De Margeria de Croft, Jo. de Croft, et Adama D'Arcy, pro di. feod. et vja. pte. in Yealand Conyers, Silverdale, Tewhitmyre, et Whytenton .....	xijjs. iiijd.
De W. de Morthyag, Joh. de Hodleston, et percenariis ejus pro iva. pt. et vjxx. viij. pte. in Whytenton .....	vjs. vjd. ob.
De W. de Lancaster pro xx. terre ib'm socag. ....	xxs.
De Dno de Caton cum Claughton, pro xx. terre ib'm in socage .....	xxs.
De Dno de Lak pro x. merc. terre ib'm in socage .....	vjs. viijd.
De Dno de Skerton pro xj. terre ib'm in socage .....	xjs.
De Dno de Urswick pro x. ter. in soc. ....	xs.
De Dno de Burgh in Lonesdale pro x. terr' in soc. ....	xs.
De Dno de Slyne cum Hest .....	xs.
De hæred W. Burton pro terris in Slyne .....	vs.

Etc., etc.\*

The whole feudal valuation of *Lonsdale*, at this time, was £442.

\* Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 209.

On 13th November, A.D. 1376, being the completion of the fiftieth year of his reign, *Edward III.* solemnly conferred, in full Parliament, upon his third son, *John of Gaunt*, the title of "Duke of LANCASTER," with *jura regalia*, and erected the county into a *Palatinate*; as appears from the following charter:—

"Edward, by the grace of God, &c. ~~Know ye~~ that whereas we weighing with due consideration the great exploits of all those who have laudably and courageously served us in our wars, are desirous of exalting them by honours, so more especially it behoveth us to bestow greater honours and favours upon our own sons, who are so eminently conspicuous for their wisdom and noble actions, and who are so nearly connected with us by ties of blood. Considering the unshaken fidelity, and excellent wisdom of our dear son, John, king of Castile and Leon, duke of Lancaster, who by his labours and exertions, and many times, when necessity required it, by bravely exposing himself to the dangers of war, hath proved himself always devoted to our service; and wishing on that account, and desirous to reward our said son with some sort of advantage and honour, and with heartfelt joy, do, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, in our present Parliament at Westminster assembled, grant for ourself and our heirs, unto our said son John, that he shall have for the term of his life, his Chancery and his Writs under his seal for deputing to the office of Chancellor, for appointing his Justices, as well to hold Pleas of the Crown, as other Pleas whatsoever, touching the Crown Law, and to pass judgment in the same, and to issue executions of what sort soever by their writs and officers: and other liberties and royal rights [*jura regalia*] whatsoever to a County Palatine appertaining, as freely and fully as the earl of Chester claims to enjoy within the said county of Chester, &c."

The most brilliant period in the history of LANCASTER was that in which *John of Gaunt* held here his ducal court. While residing at the castle, he obtained for the town of LANCASTER, from his royal father, a charter for the exclusive right of holding the Sessions of Pleas, expressed in the following terms:—

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and Aquitaine, to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, and their officers, and all bailiffs and their followers, greeting. ~~Know ye~~, that we of our special favour, and at the prayer

of our beloved son, John, duke of Lancaster, have granted, and by this our charter confirmed, for *us* and our heirs, to our beloved the mayor bailiffs, and the whole commonalty of Lancaster, their heirs and successors, that all Pleas and Sessions of all justices whatever assigned for the county of Lancaster, shall, in the said town of Lancaster, as the capital town of the said county, and *not elsewhere* in the said county, be forever held. Wherefore *we* will and declare for *us* and our heirs, that the Pleas and Sessions of all justices whatever assigned for the said county, shall be held in the said town, and ~~not elsewhere~~: it is decreed; Witness the reverend venerable fathers Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, William, bishop of Winchester, our Chancellor, and Simon, bishop of Ely, our Treasurer, Richard, earl of Arundel, Robert earl of Suffolk, Thomas de Veer earl of Oxford, our Chamberlain, Edward le Despenser, Ralph de Nevill, John de Nevill, John Atte Lee, the Seneschall of our household, and others. Given under our hand at Westminster, the 13th day of November, in the 36th year of our reign. By writ of Privy Seal."

In 1389, the *Scots* made another incursion into the northern counties of *England*, and part of the town of LANCASTER, with its records, was again consigned to the flames.\*

Ample confirmations of the liberties of the burgesses of LANCASTER were made by *Richard II.*, *Henry IV.*, and *Henry V.*; the last of whom granted that the burgesses should be toll free in *Ireland*, if his subjects of *London*, *Northampton*, and *Bristol* were also exempt.†

A.D. 1409, *Henry IV.* visited LANCASTER, and on the 12th of August, held a court here for the transaction of public business.‡

10 *Henry VI.*, 1431, a formal ratification of their liberties was made by the king, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and council in Parliament, and additional franchises were then granted on the petition of the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and the whole commonalty of

\* Baines, vol. iv. p. 501.

† Baines, vol. iv., p. 594.

‡ Clark, p. 84.



the town of LANCASTER. The petitioners represent that, "Whereas LANCASTER, from time immemorial has been, and still is, the chief and most ancient borough within the county of LANCASTER; to which borough there is a great confluence and concourse of people, as well of merchants, denizens, as aliens, and others, and before this time has been for the greater part inhabited by merchants; and because the mayor and bailiffs, for the time being, have not had power or authority to take recognizances by Statute Merchant, many of the said merchants, without any surety had, have furnished their goods and merchandize to divers people, and have fallen into great poverty because they had not power by law in the borough to recover their debts promptly on the day fixed for payment; and also for this cause, many merchants have ceased to come to the borough with their merchandize, to the great damage of all the commonalty of the same borough: they pray the king to grant to the mayor and his successors, and to a clerk under him, to be named by the king, from time to time, power and authority to take and record all manner of recognizances by Statute Merchant, of the debts of all debtors who shall come before them in the same town to make such recognizances; and that they may be enabled to make and execute, in all respects, such recognizances in the same manner and form as ordained by the Statute Merchant, and the statute of *Acton Burnel*."\*

\* Rot. Parl., vol. iv. *Pet. in Parl.* 10 Hen. VI., n. 3, p. 415, citante Baines, vol. iv., p. 511.

In A.D. 1455, began the bloody scenes between the houses of *York* and LANCASTER, better known as the "Wars of the Roses." LANCASTER having, as its device, a *red*, and *York*, a *white* rose; in the course of which wars the principal part of the noble blood of *England* was shed, in the field or on the scaffold, and one hundred thousand *Englishmen* lost their lives; but the actual ravages of war did not extend, in any one instance, during that long-protracted contest, to this town or county. By the marriage of *Henry VII.* of the house of LANCASTER, with *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Edward IV.*, of the house of *York*, the two families became united; the thirteenth and last battle having been fought at *Bosworth* field, in 1485. Two years after this, the fictitious *Yorkist*, *Lambert Simnel* landed at the Pile, or Peel of *Foudry*, in the bay of *Morecambe*, with some *English* lords and gentlemen, accompanied by *Martin Swart*, a *German* commander, with a quantity of *German* and *Irish* soldiers, and encamped on a common\* near *Ulverstone*. But though, on their march from *Furness*, they passed through LANCASTER, they offered no violence to the persons or property of the inhabitants.†

The Act of Resumption, passed 4 *Edward IV.*, preserves to *James Calbert*, the offices granted to him under the duchy seal, of "Master Carpenter of oure Castell of LANCASTRE, and of the Clerk of the werkys of the same Castell;" and it further provides "that this Acte extende not, nor in any wise be prejudiciall unto oure humble and true

\* Hence called "Swartz' Moor."

† See Baines, vol. iv., p. 444 et seq.

liegeman, *John Selattin*, of, in, and for a Graunte by us unto hym, in consideration of the great hurtes and maymes that he hadd in the warres of oure noble fadre, at *Wakefield*, where he loste his righte hande, and that othir hande sore maymed, so that he may neyther clothe ne fede hym selfe, as it evydently appearith, made, of an annuitie of iiij. marks, to be taken yerly duryng his life, of th' issuez and profites of oure milne, sett in oure water of *Lowne*, in oure parish of LANCASTER, called *Lownismylne*, with th' appurtynaunces, to oure duchie of LANCASTER belongyng."\*

While *Edward IV.*, after his defeat by the earl of *Warwick*, in 1469, was in charge of archbishop *Nevill*, at *Middleham*, in *Yorkshire*, he was indulged with the privilege of hunting, and having probably bribed his keepers, he escaped, on a fleet horse, to *York*, and thence to LANCASTER, where, finding lord *Hastings*, his chamberlain, with sufficient force, he resumed the government.†

Amongst the *Harleian Papers* we meet with a "Warrant for the Maire, &c. of LANCASTER to reteigne 20 marks of the fee-farm of there towne, whiche the kinge hath giuen unto them. Yeven at *Stoney Stratforde*, ye vj. Novembre, a<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>o</sup>. (*Richard III.*)‡

A.D. 1505, *Henry VII.*, the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the borough of LANCASTER, in this reign, preferred a claim to be exempt from toll, stallage, thurghtoll, tundage, pundage, and lastage, through all ports and cities in *England, Ireland*,

\* Rot. Parl., vol. v., m. 31, p. 545, m. 52, p. 547.

† Stowe's Annals. Speed's History, p. 859.

‡ Harleian MSS., No. 2001.

*Wales*, and *Man*, and from suit of county and wapentake, and to have a free borough, a free court every week, and a market twice a week, a fair twice a year, assize of bread and beer, pillory, tumbrel, and infang-thef, and gallows, in LANCASTER, and that pleadings and sessions of the king's justices, appointed to the county, be held in the town of LANCASTER, and not elsewhere; to have a guild merchant, and power to take and record, before the mayor and one clerk, all recognizances of debt, by statute merchant and the statute of *Acton Burnell*; and to have a free port at LANCASTER, and the water of *Lone*; and the plying of ships and boats\* on the same water, from *Karnmoer*, and the fishery of the same ships and boats, and the toll of all merchandize carried in them; over passage toward and over the bridge of *Collonia*,† in the county of LANCASTER; and they claim for themselves and successors, that all their cattle be free from agistment in the king's lands of *Wheremore*, by day and night; and to have one mayor every year, and two serjeants-at-mace.

The claim advanced by the burgesses in the reign of *Henry VII.*, is apparently, a summary of the different grants of privileges and immunities, all which were confirmed by charter in the 20 year of this reign.‡

\* "Applicationem navium et castellorum." This last word should most certainly be read "batellorum."—*Baines*, vol. iv., p. 502.

† Probably Cowan-bridge.

‡ "Carta Regis Majori et Communitati Lancastriae de diversis libertatibus et privilegiis." Originalia, Remembrancer Office, 20 Hen. VII.; Rot. 13. *Baines*, vol. iv., p. 504.

In 1544, 35 *Henry VIII.*, an Acte was passed, "touchyng the repayryng and amending of certaine decayed houses and tenementes, as well in *Englande* as in *Wales*: cap. iiii.", enacting, inter alia, as follows:—

"Forasmuche as in times past, divers and many beautiful houses of habitation have bene within the walles and liberties of the townes of . . . . . Lancaster, Preston, Lyverpole, and Wigan, in the county palatine of Lancaster, which now are fallen downe, decayed, and at this tyme remayne unre-edified, lying as desolate and voyd groundes, and many of them adjoyning nigh unto the high streetes, replenished with much ordure, filth, and uncleanness, with pittes, cellars, and vaultes lying open and uncovered, to the great peryll and daungier of all the inhabitants, and other the kynge's subjects passyng by the same, and some houses be very weak and feble, redy to falle downe, and be very daungerous to passe by, to the decay and hindrance of the sayd citie boroughs and townes. It may therefore be enacted by the kynge our soverayne lord, the lordes spirituall and temporall, and the commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by the auctoritie of the same, that if any person or persons, or bodies politike, being owners and possessioners of any suche desolate or voyde groundes, that at any tyme within five-and-fortie yeres next before the makyng of this Acte, have bene buylded for houses of habitation, now or hereafter beyng in decaye, and not fully fallen downe, within the lybirties and precinctes of any of the sayd boroughes, townes, and places, doo not sufficiently re-edifye, buylde, and repayre, or cause to be re-edified, buylded, and repayred, the sayde desolate voyd groundes, and decayed houses convenient for habitation and dwelling, within two yeres next after proclamation to bee made in or upon the same voyd grounde or groundes, decayed house or houses, by the mayre, aldermen, bailyffs, and burgesses, or other head officers within the precynotes of their owne auctorities; that then it shall belawfull for the chief lorde or lordes immediate of whome suche desolate and voyde grounnes, decayed and ruinous houses be holden, after the sayd two yeres be expyred, to entre into the same and to have the same groundes or houses, with the curtilage, backesyde, gardein, and orcharde adjoininge to the same, yf they be of the inheritanse of the owner or owners of the sayd decayde houses or groundes, and exceede not one acre of grounde, to them and to theyr heyres or successors; or to thyr owne propre use for ever, so that the sayde lorde or lordes immediate, entryng by the auctoritie of thys Act, do sufficiently re-edify, buylde, or repayre the same voyde groundes or decayde houses, within two yeres and a halfe next and immediately following the determination of the foresayde fyrst two yeres. And in case suche lorde or lordes as maye entre by thys Acte, do not entre and well and sufficiently re-edify, buylde, or repayre the same voyde

groundes or decayde houses within the sayde two yeres and an halfe to them lymited by thys Acte, or if suche lorde or lordes immediate as may entre by thys Acte, do sufficiently re-edify, buylde, and repayre the same voyde groundes or decayde houses within the sayde two yeres and a half to them lymited, and after they, theyr heyres, or successors, suffre the same houses or voyde groundes to falle in ruine and decaye, and do not buylde or re-edifye the same sufficiently, within two yeres and a half, that then it shall be lawfull to all person or persons or bodies polityke, as shall then have any rent-charge jointly or severally going out of the sayde voyde grounde or groundes, or decayde house or houses, in any of the sayde citie, boroughes, townes, or places, immediately after the sayde two yeres and a half expyred, to entre into the same, and to have to make of them, theyr heyres, and successors, to thyr own proper use, as shall so buylde the sayde voyde groundes or decayde houses by auctoritie of thys Acte, the same voyde groundes or decayde houses, with the curtilage, backesyde, gardeyne and orcharde adjoyning to the same, if they be of the inheritance of the owner or owners of the sayde decayde house or grounde and excede not the quantitie of one acre of grounde discharged of all rentes going out of the same groundes or houses, as welle agaynst the sayde lorde and lordes immediate as all other person or persons or bodies polityke, havynge any rentes or rente-charges, rente-secke out of the same other thaune the fee-farme of the sayde citie, boroughes, townes, or places, or some parcell thereof soe that the sayde person or persons or bodies polityke havynge the sayde rente-charge, entreynge by the auctoritie of thys Acte, do sufficiently re-edifye, buylde, and repayre the same desolate voyde groundes or groundes, or decayed house or houses, within oone yere and thre-quarters nexte and immediately followynge the determination of the sayde two yeres and a half, to the sayde lorde or lordes immediate appoynted by thys Acte. And in case suche person or persons, or bodies polityke, having any of the sayde rente-charges, as may entre by thys Acte, do not entre, and welle and sufficiently re-edifye, buylde, or repayre the same voyde groundes or decayed houses within one yere and thre-quarters to them appoynted by virtue of thys Acte, or if they or any of them havynge suche rente-charge and that may entre by thys Acte, do sufficiently buylde and repayre the same voyde grounde or groundes, or decayed house or houses, within one yere and thre-quarters to them lymitted, and after they, theyr heyres, and successors suffre the same voyde grounde or groundes, houses or houses to fall in ruine and decaye, and do not buylde or re-edifye the same sufficiently withing one yere and thre-quarters after suche ruine or decaye: that then it shall be lawfull to the mayres, aldermen, and burgesses, and other the head officers of the sayd citie, boroughes, townes, and places, by what name or names soever they bee incorporated, and theyr successors and every of them, within the lymites of theyr auctorities, immediately after the sayd yere and thre-quarters expyred, into every suche desolate and voyde groundes, decayed or

ruynous houses, to entre and to have, holde, and enjoye to them and theyr successors for ever, to theyr owne uses, the same groundes or houses, and every of theme, with the curtilages, gardeynes, orchardes, and backesydes to the same, if they be of the inherytance of the owner or owners of the sayd decayede houses or groundes, and excede not in quantitie one acre of grounde, clerely discharged of all rentes goyng out of the same groundes or houses, as well agaynat the sayd lorde or lordes immediate, as all other person and persons, or bodyes polityke, havynge suche rente-charge or rent-secke as before is sayde, other than the fee-farme of the sayd citie, boroughes, townes, or places, or parcell thereof, soe that the same mayres, aldermen, burgesses, or other head officers, as is aforesayd, or theyr successors for the tyme beyng, do re-edifye, buylde, or reparyre, or cause to be re-edified or repayed, the same grounde or groundes, house or houses, within three yeres next and immediately following the determination of the sayd yere and three-quarters lymitted or appoynted to suche person or persons, or bodies polityke, that have or shall have any rente as is aforesayd. And in case the sayd mayres, aldermen, and burgesses or other head officers as is aforesayde or theyr successors, do not entre, and re-edify, buylde, and repayre the same voyde grounde or groundes, decayed house or houses, in forme aforesayd, within the sayde terme of iii. yeres after theyr sayd entry, or if they sufficiently re-edifye, buylde, and repayre the same same voyde grounde or groundes, or decayed house or houses, within the sayde three yeres to them lymitted by thys Acte, and after they or theyr successors suffre the same house or houses, voyde grounde or groundes, to fall in ruine and decaye, and do not buylde and re-edifye the same sufficiently, that then it shall be lawfull to the fyrst owner or owners, possessioner or possessioners of suche grounde or groundes, decayed house or houses, theyr heyres or successors, immediately after the sayde iii. yeres to the sayde mayres, aldermen, and burgesses, and other head officers, as is afore lymitted, expired, into the same houses, grounde or groundes, curtilages, gardeynes, orchardes, and backesydes, to entre and the same to retyne to them, theyr heyres and successors, as in theyr fyrst estate, anythyng conteyned in thys present Acte to the contrarye notwithstandinge.

**Provided** always, that thys Acte, or any thyng therein conteyned, be not in any wyse hurtfull or prejudyciall to any person or persons beyng, at the tyme of the sayde proclamation, under the age of xxi. yeres, or be beyng *feme covert*, or in pryson, or beyonde the sea, in the kynge's warres, or in other lawfull affayres, or to any person or persons not beyng then of whole and perfecte memorie; duringe the tyme that suche person or persons shall be wythyn age, married, in pryson, or of no perfecte memorie, or beyonde the sea, soe that the same person or persons, theyr heyres or successors, after that he or they come to theyr full age of xxi. yeres, or be unmarried, out of the pryson, or come agayne wythyn thys royalme, or be of whole and perfecte memorie, wythyn three yeres then nexte ensuyng, do re-edifye the same desolate or voyde groundes, or repayre the sayde decayede houses."

One of the first acts of Queen *Mary*\* was to re-establish the *Roman* Catholic religion in this kingdom as the religion of the State, and in furtherance of that measure, the *Chantries*, which had been suppressed in a previous reign, were restored, with stipends allowed, varying from £1:10:0 to £6 per annum. Amongst this number we find *two* at LANCASTER.†

In the early part of this reign, a muster of soldiers was made in the county palatine of LANCASTER, from the respective hundreds; from an abridged record of this, a MS. in the possession of *Thomas Birch*, the younger, armiger of *Birch*, temp. *Elizabeth*, we extract the following notice respecting LANCASTER:—

“*The Hundred of Lonsdale.—Lancaster . . . 7 Men.*”

The whole of this hundred was to raise 350 men. The lord *Monteagle*, sir *Marmaduke Tunstall*, *Thos. Carus*, *George Middleton*, *Thomas Bradley*, *Hugh Dicconson*, and *Oliver Middleton*, esquires, were appointed their commanders.‡

\* In the reign of Queen *Mary*, the Duchy Court of Lancaster ordered two of the four Courts of Quarter Sessions, hitherto held at Lancaster, to be held at Clitheroe; thereon Lancaster appealed, and the chancellor and council of the duchy made this decree:—

“And that the said Court did make the said several orders without having any intelligence, notice, or knowledge of the said letters patent, or any such liberties granted to the said town of Lancaster as by the same letters patent it doth now evidently and plainly appear: it is therefore this day ordered and decreed by the said chancellor and council that all General Sessions of Assizes and Gaol-delivery to be appointed, shall be yearly from henceforth for ever holden and kept in the town of Lancaster, in the accustomed manner, and not elsewhere, in the said County.”

A.D. 1642, No Assizes at Lancaster, in Lent this year, by order of Parliament. A.D. 1784, both Assizes held in the Town Hall of Lancaster, because of gaol-fever in the Castle.

† Baines, vol. i., p. 500.

‡ Baines, vol. i., p. 504.



A.D. 1561, the "Old Constitutions and Orders" of 36 *Edward III.* were examined and ratified upon the Thursday next after the feast of Easter, in the xiiij. year of the reign of our sovereign lady *Elizabeth*, by the grace of God queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, by the oaths of *Nicholas Olivers*, then mayor of the said town, *John Newton*, tailor, and *James Randall*, then being baylives of the said town, *William Coltman*, *John Hewitson*, *William Bateson*, *Bryan Newton*, *Richard Sands*, *John . . . . . John Newton, Sen.*, *Anthony Hubbart*, . . . . ., . . . *Thomas Standish*, *William Jackson*, *Gervase Brathwett*, *James Browne*, . . . . . *Robert Bateson*, *Alexander Tolneson*, . . . . . *Richard Baynes*, *Geoffrey Brathwett*, *Richard Gilpyn*, with the assent and consent of the whole commonalty of the town aforesaid; to the which constitutions and ordinances truly to be holden and fulfilled, the aforesaid burgesses have put their proper seals, with the common-seal of the town aforesaid, to these indentures the day and year last aforesaid.\*

In 1604, *James I.* gave the town a new charter, and in 1621, issued a proclamation that not only the burgesses, but *all the inhabitants* of LANCASTER, should be toll-free throughout all *England*; and he ordered the proclamation to be made in all fairs and markets, and a penalty of £100 to be paid by any that should exact aught from them; but it does not appear that the inhabitants, not *freemen*, availed themselves of this proclamation.†

\* About this time the assessment of Lancaster amounted only to £2:15:0. Liverpool, to £2:11:1.

† Parl. Gaz. fiii., p. 33.

In the year 1652, the following additions were made to the "Old and Ancient Constitutions":—

**ORDERS AND CONSTITUTIONS.**—Orders and Constitutions heretofore made by the mayor, bailiffs, and council of the town of Lancaster, ratified and allowed of and now this day examined, perused, and approved of by the said mayor, bailiffs, and whole council of the said town, and by them ordered, consented unto, and fully agreed upon to be entered, enrolled, and fixed unto the old and ancient Constitutions [See p. 276] of this town, to be and remain as part of the said Constitutions for ever. For confirmation whereof they have to this indenture subscribed their names, this fourteenth day of October, one thousand six hundred and fifty-two.

1. Whereas, heretofore sundry many times, upon the election-day, the maior to govern this towne of Lancaster the year then next following hath been nominated and agreed upon by a whole consent of the burgesses and freemen within the said towne, without any other election, and at other times upon the said election-day, the mayor hath been elected and chosen by the most voices of the number of forty of the said freemen then agreed upon, and not by a whole consent. Touching which election by the most voices of the number of forty, much disunion and disagreement hath happened, to the great discontentment and disquiet of divers of the freemen of the said towne, for preventing of which inconvenience, and for the increasing of love, peace, and agreement within the said towne, It is this day ordered, concluded, and fully agreed upon by a whole consent of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said towne, That the office of the mayoralty of this towne of Lancaster shall continue and be amongst those seven persons who have been mayors of the said towne, viz., William Sands, Nicholas Eccleston, Thomas Braithwaite, Thomas Covell, George Tompson, William Parkinson, Clement Townson, gents., so long as there shall be six of them living, and they to have the said office every one in his turn, successively as they are benchers in seigniority. And that the said Mr. William Sands, being eldest, shall begin, and be maior the first year; Mr. Nicholas Eccleston the second year; Mr. Thomas Braithwaite to be maior the third year, &c., &c.: if they do live so longe, and be able to execute that office, and then the said office of maioralty to begin again with the said Mr. William Sands, and soe every one of the rest of the said seven persons before named, to have the said office . . . soe long as six of them doe live together.

2. Alsoe, it is agreed, concluded, and agreed upon, by the said maior, baylives, and commonalty of the said towne, that whensoever it shall please God that there shall be but five of the said benchers living, . . . that there then shall be elected another man to make them up to the number of six, . . . and soe alwayes the number of six to be continued, whereof the maior shall be one. The maior and his brethren, then being, shall alwayes upon a court-day, within a month, put forth

from among them two of their brethren which have not been maior, . . and then one of the two soe put forth shall be elected benchier by the most voices of the number of forty, in such manner and forme as the maior hath heretofore often times been elected, . . . the new benchier shall be maior for the first year after he shall be elected benchier.

3. If any man die in the time of his maioralty, the next benchier shall be maior for the remainder of the year and no longer, till his new time come round again.

4. [As to placing nuisances in the street.]

5. Also for that divers times heretofore, there have been burgesses for the parliament of this town, gentlemen who were strangers to the said town, not knowing the state thereof, and whereas upon a judicious and considerate consultation on this day holden, as well for that as divers other serious occasions. It is conceived by the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the said town, that thereby divers inconveniences have ensued, the said burgesses in parliament being not only strangers lying far distant from this town and county, but also unknown to the inhabitants thereof, so that they could not make known their wants or grievances unto them. Upon serious consideration whereof, it is ordered that no stranger or any other shall be elected burgesses of the High Court of Parliament, but such as shall be sworn freemen of the said town of Lancaster.

6. Also it is ordered and ordained that from henceforth for ever and hereafter, the election of capital burgesses, and bailiffs of the brethren shall be made amongst themselves, without the assistance or association of any of the burgesses of the said town, any bye-law, order, or constitution to the contrary, notwithstanding and likewise that the election of every of the said capital burgesses, to be elected after the death, disability, or other [removal] of any of them, shall be made within one month next after such death or disability as aforesaid.

7. Also, it is ordered and ordained that no stranger or foreigner shall be accepted to inhabit or dwell within this town, or be admitted or sworn stallenger, unless such stranger or foreigner do compound with the mayor, bailiffs, and council of this town, or such four of the said council as shall from time to time be appointed by the mayor for the time being, what fine or sum of money they shall pay to the said town, for such their admittance as aforesaid, provided that such fine be three pounds at the least and not under, gentlemen of quality only excepted.

8. Also, it is ordered and ordained that after the death or disability of any of the six benchiers, such new man to be chosen in his stead, to make up and continue the said number of six benchiers as shall be chosen and elected by the mayor, bailiffs, and whole council of the said town, any order or custom made or used to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided that in case any of the said council shall be dissenting from such election or choice as aforesaid, then in such case, such choice and election to be by the number of forty, as hath been formerly used and accustomed.

9. Also, for that by several Constitutions it hath been usually accustomed that upon Thursday, at the first court following after the election of the mayor and bailiffs of the said town, the mayor doth and usually hath been accustomed to nominate or appoint three or four of those who served in the place and number of the twelve capital burgesses so termed, twelve brethren the year next before, who being so nominated and appointed to go together to choose so many discreet and sufficient men out of the rest of the burgesses of the said town to themselves, as to make the number of twelve to serve as the twelve capital burgesses or brethren, that present year wherein he is mayor, who being so chosen all the said twelve, one after other . . . . and have been accustomed to take an oath, to be ready upon reasonable warning to attend the mayor with their best advice and counsel for the rule and good government of the said town, that present year wherein he is mayor. Now forasmuch as it hath been seriously considered upon by the mayor, bailiffs, and council of the said town, that in regard the said capital burgesses or brethren, or the major part of them, have been put unto extraordinary trouble and charges have been of bearing continual offices within this town, and doing and discharging many other great troubles which, from time to time, have been and are likely to be impressed on them, And for that it hath been further considered, and so conceived fit and convenient for the better and well government of the said town, and for preventing of the like trouble and inconveniences which may fall or happen in the like nature hereafter. It is therefore ordained, constituted, and agreed upon, that George Toulson, esq., Thomas Medcalf, Robert Thompson, John Foster, gents., shall elect and choose forth out of the rest of the burgesses of the said town, six discreet and sufficient men to be added to the said number of capital burgesses or brethren to make them up to the number of eighteen capital burgesses or brethren. And after the same so elected and chosen for the said number of eighteen, shall be and continue as capital burgesses or brethren of the said town, and shall from henceforth for ever hereafter be elected, chosen, and appointed, and continue in the same number in case of death or disability of any of the said number, and shall act, do, and perform all such thing and things whatsoever in such sort made and formed by the said twelve capital burgesses or brethren have heretofore usually accustomed to be done and performed, any Bye-law, Order, or Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.

10. Also, for that it hath been heretofore considered upon, and well provided, by the mayor and council of this town, for the good and ease of the free burgesses thereof, That no freeman should pay any assessment or taxation within the said town in regard that part of the said lands belonging thereunto are farmed out for the benefit of the free burgesses only, and not for discharge of any others whatsoever within the said town, will not amount to defray the charges continually imposed thereon. Now, forasmuch as several controversies have lately risen concerning several assessments and taxations imposed upon several

persons, foreigners, who have estates there and farmed by some of the free burgesses of the said town, And for preventing of the like inconveniences which at any time hereafter may arise concerning the same, for the continuing of amity and good agreement within the said town, and that none may incur the danger and penalties prevalent by the ancient Orders and Constitutions of the said town, it is therefore ordered and ordained that all and every the estates of foreigners, not being sworn free burgesses living within this town, shall be from henceforth rateably and proportionably taxed, and be liable for the payment of any levy or taxation whatsoever hereafter to be imposed upon the said town, notwithstanding any lease or demise heretofore to be made to any freeman of the said town by any such foreigner.

The first charter of *Charles II.*, in 1665, confirmed all the preceding ones, with the additional grant, that the mayor of the preceding year, and the recorder, should be justices of the borough with the mayor, and that no recorder or town-clerk should be appointed without the approbation of the crown.

In 1684, the *second*\* charter of *Charles II.* was granted, renewing and confirming all the ancient privileges of the town. This charter, which continued in force until the year 1819, is now denominated the "Old Charter."

By a second Charter of his Majesty King Charles II., in the 36th year of his reign, it was granted, declared, and confirmed that the town of Lancaster should be for ever thereafter a free borough, or free town of itself; and the burgesses and inhabitants of the town should be a body corporate, by the name of "Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the town of Lancaster, in the county of Lancaster."

"We also will, have granted, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs, and successors, do grant the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the town aforesaid, that they and their successors for ever hereafter have and may have within the said town, for the wholesome rule and government of the said town, officers, members, and ministers following, in form hereafter in these presents mentioned to be nominated and chosen; that is to say, one honest and discreet man who shall be, and shall be called *Mayor* of the town aforesaid; one other honest and

\* "The king being so much in debt that the Exchequer was shut up, and some arbitrary means used to get money, particularly by calling in the charters of the cities and boroughs who chose members of Parliament, and granting new ones with limitations, at great expenses, which caused great uneasiness."—*Stout's Autobiography*, p. 14.

discreet man, learned in the laws of England, who shall be, and shall be called the *Recorder* of the said town; seven honest and discreet men who shall be and shall be called *Aldermen* of the said town; twenty-four honest and discreet men who shall be and shall be called *Common Council*, of which twenty-four twelve shall be and shall be called *Capital Burgesses* of the town aforesaid, and twelve of these shall be and shall be called *Commonalty* of the said town. And also two other honest men who shall be and shall be called *Bailiffs* of the said town; and one honest man who shall be and shall be called *Common Clerk*; and one honest man who shall be and shall be called *Mace-bearer*; and two honest men who shall be and shall be called *Sergeants-at-Mace*. And that the mayor, for the time being, and for one whole year following; and that he of the aldermen who had been last and preceding mayor of the town, and the recorder of the said town, for the time being, for ever hereafter, were and should be, justices to keep the peace in the same town, and by the same charter, the usual power to the said justices to enquire into felonies, &c. was also granted.

And it was by the said charter granted, to the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, that the mayor of the said town, for the time being, for ever thereafter, was and should be coroner within the said town, suburbs, and liberties and precincts of the same town.

That they, or any of them, shall *not be put in assizes or juries*, or in panels to make juries, out of the liberties, suburbs, and precincts, of our said town of Lancaster. And that the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty for ever have a *common-seal* for the causes and business of them and their successors.

That the mayor of the said town, for the time being, for ever hereafter, be and shall be justice of the peace of us, our heirs, and successors, in and throughout the whole county of Lancaster.

That they and their successors for ever hereafter, have, hold, and enjoy one fair for the buying and selling, &c.

That all pleas and sessions of whatsoever justices, in our county palatine of Lancaster assigned, and county court aforesaid, shall be kept for ever in the said town of Lancaster, as in our capital town of the said county, and not elsewhere in the same county.

A fair for cattle and merchandize, with a court of *pie-poudre* and all the profits, were granted. As were also all the coal-mines in and under the commons and pasture of Quernmore and elsewhere of the town.

The following Constitutions or Bye-laws were adopted at the Town-hall, in the seventh year of the reign of Queen *Anne*:—

At a General Council of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the borough of Lancaster, in the county of Lancaster, assembled and held the nineteenth day of August, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lady Ann, by the grace of God Queen of Great Britain,

France, and Ireland, at the town-hall of the said borough, It is for the better government of the same borough enacted, established, and ordained as followeth :—

1. That the courts for the borough of Lancaster shall, as heretofore, be held on Thursday in every week.

2. That the mayor, for the time being, shall in every year, on Saturday next before the court to be held on Thursday after the feast of Saint Luke the Evangelist, at the control to be kept for the said borough, appoint an alderman or capital burgess to be one auditor, and the bailiffs of the commons shall appoint one of the common council to be the other auditor, to state and audit the accounts of this corporation for that preceding year, and that the oath hereafter prescribed for the auditors shall be then administered to the several persons so appointed to be auditors; and they, after stating of the accounts, shall write or cause the same to be fairly written and engrossed in a book, now and hereafter to be kept for that purpose, and present the same subscribed by them, the said auditors, at the said court, to be held next after the said feast of Saint Luke, in every year, and if any such person so appointed to be auditor, shall, after due notice thereof, refuse to undertake the said office, or to act duly therein, then that every such person shall, for his refusal, forfeit to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the time being, the sum of one pound, six shillings, and eight pence, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

3. That the bailiffs of the said borough and town shall, upon reasonable notice from the said auditors, attend such time and place within the said borough, as they, the said auditors, shall appoint, for taking and stating the accounts of the said bailiffs, who shall then deliver up to the said auditors their accounts, fairly written, in order to a due examination thereof, and give unto the said auditors such reasonable satisfaction in relation to the particulars for which any allowance is demanded as shall be just, on pain that every bailiff who shall refuse or neglect to do accordingly, forfeit thereupon to the chamberlains of this borough the sum of six pounds, thirteen shillings, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

4. That the accounts so presented and delivered in by the said auditors shall, at the said court to be held on Thursday next after the feast of Saint Luke, in every year, be openly and audibly read, by the town-clerk for the time being, and that every person, not being free of this borough, shall (on proclamation to be made for that purpose) depart the court during the time that the said accounts are in reading on pain that every such person refusing to depart shall for his contempt and refusal, be imprisoned during the space of three hours and forfeit the sum of six shillings and eight pence to the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

5. That the aldermen and twelve capital burgesses for the time being, shall at the said court, in every year, immediately after accounts read, withdraw from the public court unto the council-chamber and there

choose and appoint, of and from amongst the said aldermen, one fit and proper person to serve the office of mayor of the said borough for that ensuing year; in every of which election this order and direction shall nevertheless be observed, That the said aldermen shall, according as of late times hath been used, be preferred to the office aforesaid, successively and by turns, unless the said electors, or the major part of them, shall at any election for special and reasonable cause, think fit that this successive course should be varied and departed from, yet, when in any year any of the said aldermen shall happen to die, or for disability, or other just cause, be removed from that office and others shall be elected and admitted to be alderman or aldermen in the stead or place of him or them so dead or removed, then the person so newly chosen and admitted (if one only) shall, at the election of mayor for the next ensuing year, be chosen into and preferred to the said office of mayor, to hold the same for that ensuing year, if more than one, then by turns in succeeding years, according to seniority, and afterwards to return and continue in the course hereinbefore directed. And if it shall so happen that any mayor do in the year that he holds that office, depart this life, then the said electors shall immediately proceed to a new choice, wherein the alderman whose turn it shall be to succeed to the deceased mayor shall be preferred, and hold the same office during the residue of that year, which shall be esteemed and taken for his turn. And it is hereby declared that if any matter of difficulty or doubt shall hereafter arise in or about the choice of any mayor, not hereby sufficiently explained, and provided for, that the same shall and may by the said electors, or the major part of them, be determined, in such manner as to them (with respect to former usages) shall seem most just and convenient.

6. That every person duly chosen to be mayor, shall immediately after his election, take upon himself the execution of that office, and during the time he continues therein shall inhabit within the said borough, unless for just cause his inhabiting there shall, by order of council, be dispensed with, upon pain that every such person refusing or neglecting to take upon him the said office or otherwise transgressing this Order, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

7. That every mayor, immediately after his discharge from the mayoralty by election and admission of another into that office, shall, according to the authority granted by charter to this borough, qualify and take upon himself the office of justice of the peace in the said borough, for that ensuing year, and at the next court ensuing such, his discharge, shall be restored to the office of alderman, in the rank and degree of precedency that he had before he held the same.

8. That the aldermen and capital burgesses for the time being, shall, at the said court to be held on Thursday next after the feast of Saint Luke, immediately after the election of mayor, in every year, make choice from amongst the said capital burgesses, of a fit person to execute



the office of bailiff of the brethren within the said borough for that following year, and if the person so chosen shall refuse to take upon him the exercise of that office, he shall for such refusal, forfeit the sum of thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, to the chamberlains of the said borough for the time being, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

9. That the commonalty or free burgesses of the said borough shall, at the same court, in every year, next and immediately after such election of the bailiffs of the brethren, make choice from and out of the common council for the said borough for the time being, of a fit person to serve the office of bailiff of the commons for that ensuing year, and the person so chosen, immediately after notice thereof, shall take upon him the said office on pain, for his refusal, to forfeit the sum of ten pounds to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

10. That the said commonalty or free burgesses shall, at the same court yearly, after choice made of the bailiff of the commons, proceed to elect one serjeant-at-mace, and, that done, to elect a bell-man respectively, to hold and exercise the said several offices for that ensuing year. Provided nevertheless that if any person elected and admitted into the office of serjeant or bellman shall be of rude or ill behaviour, or remiss in the execution of his office, then, upon proof thereof, it shall and may be lawful to and for the mayor, aldermen, and council for the time being, or the major number of them (whereof the mayor to be one) to displace him from the office of serjeant or bellman, and appoint another to execute the same during the residue of that year.

11. That the better to prevent all disorder in elections, it is provided and ordained that all persons not free of this borough shall upon proclamation to be made, depart from and forbear to come into court during the time of the election, and if any person, not free, refuse thereupon to depart, he shall, for his contempt, be imprisoned during the space of three hours and forfeit the sum of ten shillings to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

12. That the aldermen and capital burgesses shall at the court to be held on the second Thursday after the feast of Saint Luke, in every year, withdraw from the public court into the council chamber, and there make choice, from amongst the capital burgesses and others who have served the office or offices of the bailiff of the commons, of twelve sufficient persons to be the capital burgesses of the said borough for the following year, whose names being presented to the mayor, in open court, the oath hereafter for them presented shall be administered unto them as heretofore hath been used, and if any such person chosen thereunto shall refuse to take the oath for his admission, he shall, for such refusal, forfeit the sum of five pounds to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

13. That the common council shall afterwards, at the same court, in every year, and at all other times when thereunto duly required, with-

draw into the council chamber, and if, by promotion, death, or other removal of any from that office, their number shall be decreased and appear to be under twelve, that then they shall proceed to choose to themselves out of the free burgesses of the said borough, to make up the number of that council to twelve, whereupon he or they so chosen, shall be presented to the said court or to the mayor and be admitted thereto by administering such oath as is now used, and hereinafter for them prescribed. And if any such person so chosen, shall after due notice or summons, refuse or neglect to appear and take upon him the said office of common councilman, that every person for such his refusal or neglect, shall forfeit the sum of six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

14. That the chamberlains of the said borough do, at the same court, in every year, make a true and faithful account of all sums, matters, and things, by them had or received for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough, and present their accounts in open court, fairly written and signed by them, on pain for every default, to forfeit the sum of thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eight pence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

15. That immediately after, at the same court, in every year, two sufficient persons shall be appointed and named to the office of chamberlains for the ensuing year; the one by the mayor out of the aldermen capital burgesses, the other by the bailiff of the commons, then being, out of the common council. And if any person so named and appointed, refuse to take upon him the said office he, for such refusal, shall forfeit the sum of ten shillings to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

16. That at the same court, immediately after the new chamberlains are appointed and have taken the office upon them, the late bailiffs and chamberlains shall severally pay into the hands of such new chamberlains the balance of their respective accounts, on pain for default, to forfeit the sum of twenty pounds to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough, and to be forthwith proceeded against in such method as shall be deemed most effectual for a speedy recovery thereof.

17. That the mayor of the same court, in every year, do nominate and appoint one person to be his serjeant, and the said mayor, aldermen, and council another to be the beadle for the said borough, severally to hold the said offices during the good will and pleasure of the said mayor.

18. That the mayor do likewise, at the same court, in every year, name and appoint a fit person to execute the office of mace-bearer for the ensuing year, and during and until the said mayor shall discharge him from the same office and appoint another sufficient thereunto.

19. That the late mayor, bailiff of the commons, and key-keepers, who during the preceding year, had the custody of the records, charters, deeds, evidences, securities, remembrances, and writings, belonging to the said borough, and of the keys of the common chest wherein the same were kept, do, at the said court to be held on the second Thursday

after the feast of Saint Luke, in every year, give up and deliver all such records, charters, deeds, evidences, securities, remembrances, and writings, as also the keys of the said chest, to their present mayor and bailiff of the commons, and thereupon, the said mayor, reserving to himself one of the keys of the said chest, shall deliver another of them to such fit and proper person (being an alderman or capital burgess) as he shall appoint to be key-keeper for that ensuing year. And the bailiff of the commons, reserving to himself one other of the keys thereof, shall deliver a fourth key to such of the council as he shall appoint to be key-keeper for that year. And thereupon the said mayor, bailiffs, and key-keepers shall lock into such chest all the said records, charters, deeds, evidences, securities, remembrances, and writings, to be therein safely kept. And if any such person named and appointed by the mayor or bailiff of the commons, or either of them, unto the office of key-keeper, shall refuse to take upon him the trust thereof, and execute the same office, every person so refusing shall forfeit the sum of twenty shillings to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

20. That at the last mentioned court, in every year, four of the council of the said borough shall be appointed into the office of peck-sealers, to assay the weights and measures for the ensuing year, two whereof shall be named and appointed by the mayor out of the aldermen and brethren, and the two others by the bailiff of the commons, out of the common council, and if any person so named and appointed, shall refuse to act in the execution of that office he, for such refusal, shall forfeit the sum of thirteen shillings and four pence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

21. That at the same court, in every year, the mayor, and bailiffs, and council shall elect a swineherd for the ensuing year, subject nevertheless (upon neglect of his office) to be displaced by the mayor and aldermen for the time being, and in his stead another to be appointed by them for the residue of that year.

22. That the mayor and bailiffs for the time being, shall at the same court, in every year, elect and appoint two freemen of the said borough to be supervisors of the streets, highways, causeways, and public pavements within the borough, for that ensuing year, who shall duly present all decays and wants of repair therein, and all nuisances then done or suffered, so as the several persons who ought of right to repair, and others offenders in the premises, may be brought to just punishment and be compelled to do therein what they ought of right. And if any person so chosen and appointed to be supervisor, shall refuse to take upon him the execution of that office he shall, for his refusal, forfeit the sum of forty shillings to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

23. For continuing the present number of aldermen, it is established and declared that when any of the aldermen shall resign, happen to die, or for disability or other just cause, be removed from that office, that the

mayor for the time being, shall within one month after any vacancy, thereby cause the aldermen, capital burgesses, and common council to be convened at the town-hall of the said borough, in the council-chamber, there and then to proceed to elect a fit and discreet person or persons from and out of such of the capital burgesses as have served the office of bailiff of the brethren into the place or stead of him or them so dead or removed, which said election shall be made by the unanimous consent of the mayor, aldermen, capital burgesses, and common council. And if any of them shall be dissenting in the choice, then they the said mayor, aldermen, capital burgesses, and common council shall, by a majority of voices, appoint two out of the said capital burgesses in order to a determination of every particular choice, and shall immediately thereupon call to themselves so many sufficient and most ancient burgesses of the said borough then present, as together with themselves, shall make the number up to forty, to all whom the oath hereafter prescribed, shall be administered, and by them, or the majority of them, the choice of such new alderman or aldermen shall out of the persons so appointed be determined, and the person or persons so chosen shall be admitted, according to his or their election, and if any person so chosen shall refuse to take upon him the office of alderman, he shall for such refusal, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

24. That the mayor for the time being, shall within one month after the death of any recorder of this borough, or of his amotion from that office, convene the aldermen, capital burgesses, and common council of the said borough, in the town-hall, in the council-chamber therein, and then and there the said mayor, aldermen, capital burgesses, and common council shall proceed to make choice of a discreet person, learned in the laws of this realm, into the office of recorder, in the place of him so dead or removed; which said election shall be determined by a majority of voices of them, the said mayor, aldermen, capital burgesses, and common council, and the person so elected shall thereupon, by the then mayor, be admitted unto the office of recorder as heretofore hath been used.

25. That on the death of any town-clerk and clerk of the recognizances, or on his amotion from those offices, the mayor for the time being, shall within one month after such death or removal, convene the aldermen, capital burgesses, and common council in the council-chamber aforesaid, and he, together with them shall make choice of a fit person to execute the said office or offices in the stead of him so dead or removed, and the person so chosen shall, by the said mayor, be admitted to those offices in the same manner, and subject to the same power of being suspended or discharged from his office by the said mayor, as heretofore hath been accustomed.

26. That to obviate practices in procuring elections and promote fairness therein, it is ordained that so often as there shall be occasion to proceed to any election of recorder, alderman, or town-clerk (the days

of whose election are casual and unfixed), that the mayor for the time being, shall in order thereto, prefix and appoint a day and hour certain whereon such election shall be made, and shall thereupon, four days at least before the time of election, cause his serjeant to summon all the aldermen, capital burgesses, and common council residing in or near the said borough, to appear at the time and place afore appointed for such elections, and shall cause his said serjeant to give notice unto them severally of his intent to proceed then to such election, of which summons and notice the said serjeant shall, in open council, make proof upon oath. And if any mayor shall without such due summons and notice as aforesaid first given, proceed to elect any recorder, alderman, or town-clerk, he, for such offence and neglect, shall forfeit the sum of ten pounds to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

27. That the mayor for the time being, shall in every year, on Saturday immediately preceding the said court appointed for election of the new mayor, name two persons out of the aldermen and capital burgesses, and the bailiff of the commons shall name other two out of the common council to be assessors of the stallage roll. To all which the oath of their office as heretofore been used, and hereafter is prescribed, shall be administered, and if any one so named shall refuse the execution of the said office, he shall forfeit thereupon to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty the sum of six shillings and eight pence.

28. That the mayor for the time being, shall in every year, at or before the court to be held in the second week after Epiphany, name and appoint a fit person, free of this borough, to be the one marsh-man, and the bailiff of the commons shall at or before the same time, name and appoint another freeman to be the other marsh-man, to regulate and order all matters relating to the marsh-grounds belonging to the said borough, who shall upon notice thereof, take upon them respectively the execution of the said office for that ensuing year. And if any such person so named and appointed refuse or neglect to undertake and execute the said office, he shall for his refusal or neglect, forfeit the sum of twenty-six shillings and eight pence to the chamberlains of the said borough for the time being, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

29. That the grand-inquest for this borough do, at the quarter sessions of the peace, to be held in and for the said borough next and immediately after the feast of Easter, in every year, name and present two sufficient persons, free of this borough, to be two of the moor-men and moss-men, and at the same time that the mayor for the time being, do name and appoint one of two aldermen or brethren, and the bailiff of the commons one of the common council to be the other—two moor-men and moss-men; who are carefully to preserve the moors, commons, and mosses belonging to the said borough and the free burgesses thereof, from the encroachments of foreigners, and to present all abuses committed or done thereto, by any person or persons whatsoever, so as the offenders

therein may be brought to just punishment; and every such person so named, presented, or appointed to the said office of moor-man and moss-man shall, upon notice thereof, undertake the said office and duly execute the same for the ensuing year, on pain that such person refusing or neglecting so to do shall forfeit the sum of twenty-six shillings and eight pence to the chamberlains of the said borough for the time being, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

30. That the said inquest do, at the same sessions, out of the free burgesses of the said borough, name, and appoint, and present four persons to be hedge-lookers, to make discovery and presentment of hedge-breakers, and to view the fences within the precincts of the borough and prevent all decays therein together with the persons that ought to repair the same. And also that the said inquest do, at the same sessions, name and appoint two other persons to be ale-tasters, to take care of the wholesomeness as also of the assize of ale and beer within the said borough; and two other persons to be flesh-lookers, to see that no unwholesome or unmarketable flesh be brought into the said borough to be sold; and likewise two others to be leather-sealers, to approve and mark the leather exposed to be sold within the said borough, in order that persons offending in any of the premises, may be brought to just punishment; and if any one named and appointed to any of the said several offices shall refuse or neglect to undertake such office and duly to execute the same for the ensuing year, such person so neglecting or refusing to undertake or execute such office, shall forfeit thereupon to the chamberlains of the said borough for the time being, the sum of twenty-six shillings and eight pence, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

31. That no artificer, unless he be free of the said borough or admitted to be stallenger thereof, shall use any art, mystery, or occupation within the same borough; nor shall any foreigner, at any time, directly or indirectly, open his shop or set up his trade within the said borough, or the liberties thereof, till he hath compounded with the mayor and bailiffs thereof for his freedom or stallenge, on pain to forfeit to the chamberlains of the said borough then being, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof, the sum of five shillings for every day that he shall use such art, mystery, or occupation, or open his shop, or set up any trade within the said borough, before such composition or agreement is made.

32. That every person to be admitted to the freedom of this borough upon fine or composition, shall pay therefore not less than the sums hereafter prescribed, that is to say, every son of a freeman, twenty shillings; every one that hath served his apprenticeship of seven years to a freeman within the said borough, twenty-six shillings and eight pence; and every other person to pay such sum as two of the aldermen or capital burgesses to be appointed by the mayor, and two of the common council to be appointed by the bailiff of the commons, or the major number of them shall assess and set down—not less than forty shillings

and sixpence—and the sum so assessed shall not upon any application, be mitigated, nor the person be ever after admitted to his freedom than that set by the said four persons first appointed to assess the same. And that no person shall be admitted free of this borough but with the concurring consent of the mayor and bailiffs for the time being, and that the persons appointed to assess the fine do make due representation of the person to be admitted free.

33. That neither the bailiff of the brethren nor the bailiff of the commons shall, during the time of his office, go beyond the seas or depart and remain absent from the said borough during the space of one month, without the special licence, in writing, of the mayor of the same borough for the time being, signed by him, on pain to forfeit therefore the sum of thirty shillings, and for every month that he shall continue absent the further sum of ten shillings, to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

34. That every freeman shall within one year after his taking an apprentice, bring the indenture or deed of apprenticeship to the town-clerk of the said borough, to be inrolled and entered in a book at all times hereafter to be kept for that purpose, for the inrollment and entry whereof the said town clerk shall receive the fee or reward of one shilling and no more ; on pain to forfeit for every such neglect of bringing any indenture or deed to be entered, the sum of thirteen shillings and four pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof. And the town-clerk is required upon payment or tender of one shilling, to enter the same with all convenient speed in the said book, and if he refuse so to do, or be negligent therein, he shall for such refusal or neglect, forfeit the sum of six shillings and eight pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

35. That the mayor of the said borough for the time being, who is always clerk of the market, may take the bailiffs of the said borough to his assistance, and shall, once in every month at the least, assay the weight of bread and butter brought to market within the said borough to be sold, and if any bread or butter exposed to sale be not of such due weight as by law is required, such bread and butter so deficient in weight, shall be forfeited, and the said mayor shall forthwith cause the same to be seized, cut, and distributed amongst the poor inhabiting the said borough, and the offender who exposed such bread or butter to be sold shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of three shillings and four pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

36. That the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses of this borough shall, severally and each of them for himself, provide and have a gown becoming and usual to his order and degree, and that the aldermen and capital burgesses, shall, on Sundays, holidays, and other public times when thereunto required, attend the mayor, habited with such gowns, and if any of them the said mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses,

shall refuse or neglect to provide himself with such gown, he shall, for every month he continues unprovided therewith, forfeit the sum of five shillings, and for every wilful default of attending the said mayor so habited, shall forfeit the sum of one shilling and four pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

37. If any freeman of this borough, being returned to serve on a jury at any of the courts to be held for the said borough, and thereunto duly summoned two days before the court at which he is returned to serve, shall refuse or neglect to appear at the said court, or appearing, shall refuse to serve as a juror, he, for every such neglect or refusal, shall upon proof of the summons, forfeit the sum of three shillings and four pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof. Unless upon just occasion or cause proved, the court shall think fit to dispense therewith, and it is ordained that the person or persons for whom a verdict upon any trial at the courts held in and for the said borough shall pass, do immediately pay to the jurors the sum of one shilling and no more.

38. That no other attornies than such as the mayor, aldermen, capital burgesses and common council, or the majority of them, shall from time to time approve of and admit by administering such oath as is hereinafter prescribed, shall be allowed to practice as an attorney for any suit or in the courts of the said borough, nor shall any declaration or other pleading be received in the name of any other attorney than in the name of some of the persons so approved, admitted, and allowed of, unless upon special occasion, the court shall see cause to dispense therewith.

39. That all persons shall be exempt and free from arrests under any civil-process issuing out of the courts of the said borough, during the time of the two assizes, and also during the time of all public fairs kept within the said borough, unless for debts appearing to be contracted within such fairs, or by virtue of executions upon judgments obtained before that time, on pain that every person doing any thing to the contrary hereof shall forfeit the sum of twenty-six shillings and eight pence to the chamberlains of the said borough for the time being, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

40. That every one who shall within the liberties of this borough, rescue, or be aiding or in any wise assisting to the rescuing of any person arrested by virtue of any process issuing out of the courts of the said borough, or by virtue of any warrant from the mayor or other justice of the peace for the same borough, or shall rescue or assist in the rescuing of any cattle distrained, or goods taken in execution or upon attachment out of the said courts, within the liberties or precincts thereof, he or they shall for every such offence, forfeit the sum of twenty-six shillings and sixpence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

41. That all and every the freemen of the said borough shall, upon reasonable request of the bailiffs thereof, and either of them, or other



officer acting in the execution of justice or authority from the courts of justices of the peace of the said borough, or by any authority belonging to his or their office, be aiding and assisting to them and every of them, in the performance and execution thereof, on pain that every one refusing to afford such aid or assistance shall therefore forfeit the sum of six shillings and eight pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

42. That every freeman of the said borough shall, upon reasonable demand to be made, duly pay all fines and forfeitures, penalties and amerciaments, scot, lot, and other duties by these Ordinances and Constitutions imposed, taxed, or assessed, or to be imposed, taxed, or assessed on him for any offence, matter, or thing whatsoever, on pain that every one refusing to submit thereto and to comply with the payment thereof, shall for such his refusal, forfeit and lose his freedom of the said borough, as having by such refusal violated the oath administered upon his admission thereunto.

43. That the bailiffs for the time being, shall levy, gather, and receive all fines, forfeitures, penalties, and amerciaments, with all convenient speed after the same be estreated, and shall also collect all the rents, tolls, revenues, dues, duties, sum and sums of money whatsoever in any wise payable, due, or belonging to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough, and shall make true and faithful account thereof, and in order to such account they, the said bailiffs, shall on Saturday in every week, if required, at the town-hall or such other place within the said borough as the mayor for the time being shall appoint, give in a particular of their weekly receipts, as also of their disbursements, to the said mayor, who shall control the same and cause an entry to be made thereof in two books to be kept for that purpose, one whereof to remain with the mayor, the other with the bailiff of the commons, on pain that every defaulter in the premises shall, for every neglect, forfeit the sum of ten shillings to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

44. That the bailiffs, serjeant, bell-man, and other officers of this corporation shall and do on Sundays, holidays and other public days and occasions when thereunto required, attend the mayor thereof, on pain that every one making wilful default of paying such attendance shall, for every such default, forfeit the sum of three shillings and four pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

45. That no butcher or other person shall expose to sale within the said borough any unwholesome flesh, or flesh in respect of its poverty unmarketable, upon pain of forfeiture thereof: the unwholesome flesh to be burned, and the unmarketable, in respect of its poverty, to be distributed amongst the poor persons inhabiting the said borough, by the flesh-lookers for the time being. And every such butcher or other person shall, for every of the said offences, forfeit the sum of three shillings and four pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the

use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof. And that the statute made in the second year of King Edward the Sixth relating to butchers conspiring to set the prices of flesh, be put in execution.

46. That all and every the freemen of this borough shall, at the courts to be held in and for the same borough, on Thursday in the week after Epiphany, on Thursday in the second week after Easter, Thursday in the second week after the feast of Saint John Baptist, and Thursday in the second whole week after Michaelmas, in every year, personally appear and make answer to their names in order as they shall be called, on pain to forfeit for every default, the sum of one shilling and six pence, to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough, unless for reasonable cause, then shown, the court shall think fit to dispense therewith.

47. That every freeman and inhabitant of this borough shall, when required by the bailiffs thereof, diligently watch within the said borough during such reasonable time as shall, by the said bailiffs, or either of them, be appointed for him to watch, on pain that every one refusing or neglecting so to do shall therefore forfeit the sum of three shillings and four pence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

48. That every person who shall eaves-drop the house of any one inhabiting this borough, do for every such offence, forfeit one shilling and eight pence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

49. That all inn-holders, alehouse-keepers, and others within this borough, shall keep decent and good order within their respective houses, and shall not lodge, maintain, or harbour any disorderly person, or persons of ill fame and repute; nor shall they, or any of them, suffer any unlawful games to be used or exercised within any of their several houses, upon pain that every offender in any of the premises shall, for each offence, forfeit the sum of six shillings and eight pence to the chamberlains of this borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof, and also become liable to be suppressed and discharged from keeping any public house within the said borough.

50. That every inn-holder, alehouse-keeper, or other householder within this borough, who shall suffer apprentices or other youths to be and continue tippling and gaming within his or her house, do forfeit the sum of ten shillings to the chamberlains of this borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

51. That no person shall within this borough, keep any lewd or disorderly house, and if any woman shall be convicted of being a common whore, she shall thereupon be carted and whipt through the town and expelled from the same.

52. That all and every the persons who, of right, are to maintain and repair any hedges, walls, ditches, or fences within the precincts of this borough, do, for the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood, duly and sufficiently, from time to time, uphold, maintain, and repair the same, on pain that every one failing or neglecting so to do, shall forfeit therefore the sum of three shillings and four pence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

53. That no one shall break or tear up the hedge or fence of another and carry the same away, on pain that every offender shall, for the first offence, forfeit the sum of three shillings and four pence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough, or be set in the stocks during the space of one hour; for the second and every other offence, be whipt from the town-hall to the stocks, to be placed there during the space of one hour, and that the hedge or fence taken with the offender be burned publicly near the stocks, during his or her continuance therein, the better to signify the nature of the offence and to deter others from the like practices.

54. That the bailiffs of this borough shall, once at least or oftener, in every year, call the inhabitants to their assistance and drive the commons and moors belonging to the same borough, and if the cattle of foreigners, not having right of common, be found there, that they impound the same in order to have satisfaction for the trespass done, and if the said bailiffs shall neglect, or if any inhabitant of the said borough shall, upon due warning, refuse to assist in driving the said commons and moors, the bailiffs making default shall forfeit the sum of six shillings and eight pence, and every other defaulter shall therefore forfeit the sum of one shilling to the chamberlains of the said borough for the use of the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty thereof.

55. That no person shall keep any fierce or unlawful dog within the said borough, unless he be muzzled, bound, or secured from all capacity of mischief and power of harm-doing, under pain that every person keeping such dog shall, for every week he or she keeps the same, forfeit the sum of two shillings and sixpence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said town.

56. That no person presume to put any distempered horse, mare, or gelding, infectious to others, into any common pasture within the precincts of this town, or water such horse, mare, or gelding at any common watering-place within the said town, on pain to forfeit for every such offence, the sum of six shillings and eight pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

57. That no person shall wash any clothes or other unclean things in the wells or fountains' head called the *Stone Well* and *Cokewell*, or in the fountain head of any other common well within the said borough, on pain to forfeit for every such offence the sum of one shilling and sixpence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough. Nevertheless it is declared that the streams and waters flowing from the heads of such wells and fountains may be made use of for such purposes without incurring the penalty aforesaid.

58. That no person sell or expose to sale any corn, grain, or meal at any market to be holden within this borough, before the ringing of the market-bell, on pain to forfeit for every such offence, the sum of six shillings and eight pence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough. And it is hereby ordered and directed that the laws

relating to butchers, tanners, and the sale of raw hides, be put strictly in execution, and the penalties thereby inflicted for offences, be duly levied.

59. That every person having right to put cattle upon the Marsh, to depasture there, shall, before his putting them in, acquaint the marshmen with his right and with the marks of the cattle he shall put therein, in order to a discovery of all trespassing goods, and for preventing the overcharge of that pasture by persons' goods who have not right thereto, on pain that every person neglecting to give such notice shall forfeit the sum of two shillings and sixpence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough. And it is ordained that no marsh grass shall be let or leased to any foreigner or person not free of this borough, till the freemen having occasion, be provided thereof, they giving a reasonable rent for the same, on pain that every one letting or leasing contrary to the intent of this Ordinance, shall forfeit therefore the sum of six shillings and eight pence to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

60. That all and every the possessors and occupiers of any messuages, burgages, barns, stables, outhouses, gardens, and orchards within the said borough, adjoining to the streets, allies, and lanes thereof, shall well and sufficiently pave, maintain, and repair those parts of the streets, allies, and lanes of the said borough, which adjoin to his or their respective messuages, burgages, stables, outhouses, gardens, and orchards, from thence to the middle of every street, alley, and lane. And if such person shall suffer those parts of the streets, allies, and lanes, which he is hereby required to repair, to be in decay, he shall for every month that the same remain unamended and unrepaired, after notice from the supervisors of the streets, forfeit the sum of one shilling to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof. Provided always, that such parts of the streets of the said borough as such occupiers and possessors as aforesaid shall not, by the direction and true meaning hereof, be liable to uphold and repair, that the same (being of the public high streets) shall be paved, maintained, and repaired, by the bailiffs of the said borough for the time being, upon pain to forfeit for every neglect, the sum of three shillings and four pence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the uses aforesaid.

61. That all and every such possessors and occupiers of any messuages, burgages, barns, stables, outhouses, orchards, and gardens as aforesaid, shall keep such parts of the said streets, lanes, and allies—as before they are required to amend and repair—well and sufficiently cleansed; on pain to forfeit for every neglect, the sum of one shilling and sixpence to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof. And that none shall set or place any dung, soil, carrion, rubbish, carts, carriages, timber, or stones, in any of the streets, lanes, or allies of the said borough, and suffer the same to remain for longer space than three days, upon pain to

forfeit therefore the sum of one shilling to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said borough.

62. That every person inhabiting this town shall use good caution that he or she do not hire such stewards, or take such apprentices, as by gaining a settlement under that service or apprenticeship, are in any likelihood to become a charge or burthen to the said town, on the pains and forfeitures that may reasonably be inflicted and as they will answer their so doing.

63. That the swineherd shall every morning give notice, with his horn, for the inhabitants of the said borough to turn out their hogs in order to be drove to the common. And if any one shall, after such notice, neglect to turn out his or her hog or hogs, so as they may be drove to the common, and shall after turn the same into the streets of the said borough, he or she shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of two pence to the swineherd of the said town for the time being.

64. That all and every the fines, penalties, and forfeitures hereby set and imposed shall and may upon a presentment of the offence and conviction of the party thereupon, by virtue of a precept issuing out of the court, and under the seal of the said borough, directed to the bailiffs thereof, be raised and levied by distress of the offender's goods and chattels, or by action for debt, or otherwise as shall be held most advisable for the speedy recovery thereof.

65. That the town-clerk for the time being, shall within one month after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, in every year, enter or cause to be fairly entered in a book kept for that purpose, a particular of all the rents, reservations, dues, and duties belonging to this corporation; and from whom due and payable, and for what wastes, grounds, lands, or other hereditaments; and the names of all persons admitted to have marsh grasses; as also the stallenge-roll of and for that preceding year; on pain to forfeit for every neglect, the sum of six shillings and eight pence, as also the sum of three shillings and four pence for every week after the same, or any of them, shall remain not entered as aforesaid, to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

66. That all and every the orders of council shall be drawn up and fairly entered in a book to be kept for that purpose, by the town's clerk for the time being, within four days at the least after the pronouncing thereof, on pain that the town's clerk shall, for every neglect thereof, forfeit the sum of three shillings and four pence, and the further sum of sixpence for every day after that the same shall not be so drawn up and entered, to the chamberlains of the said borough, for the use of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof.

67. That no person being mayor of this corporation shall, during the time of his mayoralty, sell by retail, any ale, beer, brandy, coffee, or tea, on pain to forfeit for his so doing, the sum of twenty pounds to the chamberlains of this borough for the time being, for the use of the

mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty thereof, and on pain of forfeiting his said office of mayor, and to be discharged and immediately amoved from the same, as also from his place of alderman; and another to be elected, in manner aforesaid, in the stead and room of him.

In the year 1819, 59 *George III.*, after much opposition and expense, the corporation obtained a new charter, which continued in operation until the enactment of the Municipal Corporation Bill, in 1835.

A code of "Bye-laws of the Corporation of LANCASTER," was drawn up in 1823, 6 Sept., 4 *George IV.*, and having been submitted to the Judges of Assize, was by them approved of, 21 January, 1825.

This code is a kind of "bill of pains and penalties." It consists of forty-one clauses, very similar in their import to those contained in the last list, varying in the *amount of penalties imposed*; and the number of *oaths* to be taken.\*

\* In a book in the hands of the Corporation, marked A, may be found, *inter alia*, an assignment of Fennom Carrs; of Marsh-rents for a term, or for the lives of the freemen and their wives; list of persons entitled to Marsh-gates, in the years 1667, 1668, and 1669; Marsh-gates to be forfeited by those who become alms-men; a letter from the Mayor of Dublin, allowing exemption from toll, &c. to the freemen of Lancaster; lease to Thomas Brown, of building-ground near Wery Wall, for twenty-four years; pages 315 to 412 have been cut or torn out; an order respecting building-ground for the unexpired term of forty-one years, town leases; an order respecting gowns; and a notice that "a silver tankard seized for stallage toll due from the Vicar of Lancaster," should be returned.

In another book, marked F, from the year 1708 to 1736, we meet with the following:—The whole rent of the Deep Car meadow to be paid the Usher of the School; agreement with George Harrison as to his lease of Castle Ditch; order as to alms-men; *inquiry touching the mis-employment of the town's money and concealment of the rent*; valuation of property to be made; alms-houses not being inhabited, shall be let; disputes as to Lancaster moor; pages 39 to 46 wanting; order as to waste ground on Green Area; and an order as to the *alms-houses now in lease to George Towlenson, esq.* !!!







Under the new Municipal Act, the borough is included in schedule A, amongst boroughs to have a Commission of the Peace. The Judges, Registrar, and two Sergeants acting as the officers in the Court of Record, are now appointed by the Town Council, and by the Municipal Reform Act, section 118, its jurisdiction is extended to certain other kinds of actions than those previously tried in it. The Town-sergeant is keeper of the borough jail, but the Borough Council have lately contracted with the county for committing the debtors to LANCASTER castle, the county jail. The Juries were formerly selected by the Bailiffs, and impannelled by them from the freemen of the borough, but, since the Municipal Act, they have been selected and impannelled by the Registrar from the burgess-roll. It is included amongst boroughs whose municipal boundaries were to be taken until altered by Parliament.

By the Municipal Act,\* the borough of LANCASTER is divided into three Wards, with two Aldermen and six Councillors to each; and the style of the corporate body is appointed to be "The Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the town of LANCASTER, in the county palatine of LANCASTER."

The *freedom* of the borough is acquired by birth, apprenticeship, or gift, on the payment of a small fee. In 1832, the free resident burgesses, having votes, was 848; non-resident burgesses were computed at 4,000.†

\* 5 & 6 William IV., c. 76.

† In 1850-1 the number of freemen of the borough of Lancaster, was 989; and of those entitled by property within the township to vote in the election of members for the borough, 387.

## Mayors of the Corporation of Lancaster.

(The year is that in which each Mayoralty commenced.)

A.D.		A.D.	
1416	Richard de Elslake, the first mayor on record.	1686	John Foster.
1504	Robert Hirdeman.	1687	Thomas Sherson,
1512	Richard Nelson.	1688	John Greenwood.
	Lawrence Starkey (temp. Henry VIII.*	1688	John Hodgson,
1552	Richard Gardyner.	1689	Christopher Sherson.
1553	William Colteman.	1689	John Foster.
1570	Nicholas Olivers.	1690	Thomas Baynes.
1574	John Hewetson.	1691	Henry Johnes.
1577	James Brown.	1692	Joshua Partington.
1595	Thomas Southworthe.	1693	John Hodgson.
1628	Thomas Covelle.	1694	William Penny.
1629	Galfridus Heesham.	1695	Thomas Medcalf.
1630	George Toulson.	1696	George Foxcroft.
1631	Edmund Covelle.†	1697	Thomas Waller.
1632	William Sands.	1698	Robert Parkinson.
1633	William Shaw.	1699	Robert Carter.
1638	Richard Sands.	1700	Thomas Sherson.
1639	William Shaw.	1701	John Hodgson.
1645	William Shaw.	1702	William Penny.
1650	George Toulson.	1703	Thomas Simpson.
1652	Major Riparn.‡	1704	Thomas Medcalf.
1653	Thomas Riparn.§	1705	Thomas Waller.
1654	Ditto.	1706	Robert Parkinson.
1655	John Bateman.	1707	Robert Carter.
1661	Henry Porter.	1708	Thomas Westmore.
1663	Thomas Southworth.	1709	Thomas Sherson.
1664	Thomas Johnes.	1710	Thomas Gardner.
1665	Sir Robert Bindloss, bart.	1711	William Penny.
1666	William Parkinson.	1712	Richard Simpson.
1667	Francis Hunter.	1713	John Bryer.
1668	William West.	1714	Thomas Waller.
1669	Thomas Southworth.	1715	Robert Parkinson.
1670	William Waller.	1716	Edmund Cole.
1671	John Greenwood.	1717	Robert Carter.
1672	Sir Robert Bindloss, bart.	1718	Thomas Westmore.
1673	William Parkinson.	1719	Richard Simpson.
1678	Edmund Newton.	1720	John Bryer.
1674	Thomas Corles.	1721	Thomas Waller.
1675	Christopher Prockter.	1722	Christopher Butterfield.
1676	William Toulson.	1723	Thomas Croft.
1677	William Waller.	1724	James Tomlinson.
1678	John Greenwood.	1725	Edmund Cole.
1679	Francis Hunter.	1726	Robert Winder.
1680	Francis Medcalf.	1727	Thomas Westmore.
1681	Henry Johnes.	1728	John Coward.
1682	Joshua Partington.	1729	Thomas Postlethwaite.
1683	Randolph Hunter.	1730	John Casson.
1684	John Hodgson.	1731	Christopher Butterfield.
1685	Robert Stirzaker.	1732	James Smethurst.
		1733	James Tomlinson.
		1734	John Bowes.

\* Ducat. Lanc., vol. i. p. 193.

† Having been Mayor six times.

‡ See George Fox, his Journal, p. 90,

§ Parish Register.

- |                            |                                  |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1735 William Bryer.        | 1795 Richard Johnson.            |
| 1736 Edmund Cole.          | 1796 David Campbell.             |
| 1757 Robert Winder.        | 1797 Thomas Harris.              |
| 1738 Thomas Postlethwaite. | 1798 James Moore.                |
| 1739 Thomas Smoult.        | 1799 Richard Postlethwaite.      |
| 1740 John Gunson.          | 1800 Richard Atkinson.           |
| 1741 John Casson.          | 1801 James Parkinson.            |
| 1742 John Bowes.           | 1802 Thomas Shepherd.            |
| 1743 William Bryer.        | 1803 Robert Addison.             |
| 1744 Robert Winder.        | 1804 Jackson Mason.              |
| 1745 Thomas Gibson.        | 1805 Richard Johnson.            |
| 1746 James Holmes.         | 1806 Thomas Burrow.              |
| 1747 Henry Bracken.        | 1807 John Taylor Wilson.         |
| 1748 James Rigmaiden.      | 1808 { James Moore (resigned).   |
| 1749 Miles Barber.         | { Thomas Moore.                  |
| 1750 Thomas Postlethwaite. | 1809 Richard Atkinson.           |
| 1751 John Gunson.          | 1810 Thomas Moore.               |
| 1752 Joshua Bryer.         | 1811 John Baldwin.               |
| 1753 Gwalter Borranskill.  | 1812 Thomas Giles.               |
| 1754 Robert Winder.        | 1813 Richard Johnson.            |
| 1755 John M'Millan.        | 1814 John Park.                  |
| 1756 William Butterfield.  | 1815 Thomas Burrow.              |
| 1757 Henry Bracken.        | 1816 John Taylor Wilson.         |
| 1758 Miles Barber.         | 1817 Samuel Gregson.             |
| 1759 Joshua Bryer.         | 1818 Thomas Walling Salisbury.   |
| 1760 Robert Foxcroft.      | 1819 John Bond.                  |
| 1761 Gwalter Borranskill.  | 1820 James Atkinson.             |
| 1762 Robert Winder.        | 1821 Thomas Bowes.               |
| 1763 John Stout.           | 1822 James Barton Nottage.       |
| 1764 Roger Walshman.       | 1823 Thomas Giles.               |
| 1765 Edward Stuart.        | 1824 Leonard Redmayne.           |
| 1766 James Hinde.          | 1825 Samuel Gregson.             |
| 1767 John Bowes.           | 1826 John Taylor Wilson.         |
| 1768 James Barrow.         | 1827 Thomas Walling Salisbury.   |
| 1769 Thomas Hinde.         | 1828 George Burrow.              |
| 1770 William Butterfield.  | 1829 John Bond.                  |
| 1771 Robert Foxcroft.      | 1830 James Atkinson.             |
| 1772 John Stout.           | 1831 Thomas Giles.               |
| 1773 Edward Stuart.        | 1832 Christopher Johnson.        |
| 1774 James Hinde.          | 1833 George Burrow.              |
| 1775 John Bowes.           | 1834 John Brockbank.             |
| 1776 Henry Hargreaves.     | 1835 George Burrow, first Mayor  |
| 1777 James Barrow.         | under Municipal Reform Act.      |
| 1778 Thomas Hinde.         | 1836 Thomas Housman Higgin.      |
| 1779 William Butterfield.  | 1837 John Greg.                  |
| 1780 Robert Foxcroft.      | 1838 John Armstrong.             |
| 1781 Edward Stuart.        | 1839 Joseph Dockray.             |
| 1782 James Hinde.          | 1840 William Robinson.           |
| 1783 John Bowes.           | 1841 Jonathan Dunn.              |
| 1784 Henry Hargreaves.     | 1842 Jonathan Dunn.              |
| 1785 Miles Mason.          | 1843 Edward Denis de Vitre, M.D. |
| 1786 William Watson.       | 1844 Edward Dodson Salisbury.    |
| 1787 John Housman.         | 1845 James Giles.                |
| 1788 Samuel Simpson.       | 1846 John Sharp.                 |
| 1789 John Watson.          | 1847 Thomas Howitt.              |
| 1790 Anthony Atkinson.     | 1848 Edmund Sharpe.              |
| 1791 Edward Stuart.        | 1849 Joseph Dockray.             |
| 1792 James Hinde.          | 1850 Henry Gregson.              |
| 1793 John Tallon.          | 1851 John Herdman Sherson.       |
| 1794 Robert Addison.       |                                  |

## Parliamentary History.

The borough of LANCASTER has not only a claim to great antiquity, but ranks also among the most ancient privileged boroughs which sent Members to Parliament.\*

The first instance we find upon record of *boroughs* being summoned to send representatives, is in the 48 *Henry III.*, A.D. 1264, during the usurpation of the earl of *Leicester*.† It seems that the meeting of this Parliament had been prevented by intestine troubles which then prevailed. The Par-

\* The first meetings in this kingdom, which partook of the nature of a Parliament, were held so early as the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, under the title of *Witna-gemot*, or *council of wise men*. This assembly was composed of the Comites, counts or earls, being the representatives of counties; and of the prelates and abbots, and the tenants *in capite* of the crown, by knights' service; and by these all the laws were enacted.

After the Conquest, William, and several of his descendants, called together the Norman barons, the dignified clergy, and the military tenants, as their *Great Council*, or *King's Court*, which was held thrice a year, namely, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. But there was not any representative of cities or boroughs until the latter part of the thirteenth century, when it was enacted in the Parliament held 49 *Henry V.*, A.D. 1264, at Worcester, and commonly called 'Montfort's Parliament,' that each sheriff throughout England, should cause to be sent to Parliament, two knights elected by the freeholders; with two citizens from each of the cities, and two burgesses from each of the boroughs.

In incorporated towns, such as Lancaster then was, the right of election was generally vested in the corporate body, or the freemen, but subject to the conditions of any existing charter. At this period, the only places in the county of Lancaster entitled to, what is now considered, this *privilege*, but at that time regarded more as a *hardship*, in consequence of their obligation to maintain and support their members,—were Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Liverpool.

Although the return of knights and burgesses commenced 48 *Henry III.*, the earliest return of members for the borough of Lancaster, is "to the Parliament meeting at Westminster, on Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin, in the year 1295."

† For a mass of information on this subject, see Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii., chaps. 4, 5.

liament which was convened in the succeeding year, A.D. 1265, is regarded by historians, as the model of the present House of Commons. The writs of summons to the boroughs were directed generally. But in the memorable Parliament summoned in A.D. 1282, 11 *Edward I.*, they were more explicit. The *first* writ summoned all the earls and barons, by name, to the number of one hundred and ten, to meet the king at *Shrewsbury*, on the 30th September. The *second* was directed to the Sheriff of each county, to cause to be chosen two Knights for the commonalty of the same county; the *third* was addressed to the several cities and boroughs; and a *fourth* to the Judges.

The following is a translation of the writ to cities and boroughs:

“The King to the Mayor, Citizens, and Sheriffs of London.

“With what various species of fraud and artifice the people of Wales have, like wolves, invaded our progenitors’ and our kingdom, since the memory of man; what havoc they have made among the nobility and others, as well of the English as of different nations, of young and old, &c., has been briefly set forth, according to the tenor of these words, in a former declaration.

“We command that you cause two to be chosen out of the wiser and apter citizens of the aforesaid city, and send them unto us at Shrewsbury, the day after the feast of St. Michael next ensuing, to confer upon this and other matter:—Herein fail not.”

“Signed by the King at Rotheland, 28 Jan., 1282.”

In like manner it was commanded to other cities and boroughs, the address alone varying as the case might be, “To the Mayor and citizens,” “The Bailiffs,” “The Mayor and Bailiffs,” “The Mayor and good men,” “The Bailiffs and good men.”

A LIST OF THE REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT  
OF THE BOROUGH OF LANCASTER.

- 1295 Lambertus le Dispencer.—Willielmus le Chaunter.\*  
 1295 Radulpus filius Thomæ.—Willielmus le Chaunter.  
 1300 Willielmus le Chaunter.—Johannes Lawrence (of Ashton Hall).  
 1305 Johannes de Lancastria.—Robertus de Berwyk.  
 1306 Willielmus le Sleyne.—Johannes de Lancastria.  
 1307 Willielmus le Sleyne.—Ricardus Pernaunt.  
 1314 Willielmus Dallynge.—Johannes de Wyersdale.  
 1315 Willielmus Dallynge.—Johannes de Wyersdale.  
 1325 Willielmus Lawrence.—Johannes de Brockholes.  
 1326 Johannes Cort. de Lancastria.—Adamus de Walton.  
 1327 Nicholaus de Lancastria.—Henricus Burgeys.  
 1327 Jahannes de Ker.—Laurentius Bulk.  
 1328 Johannes Cort de Lancastria.—Adamus de Walton.  
 1328 Adamus filius Simonis.—Johannes le Ker.  
 1330 Willielmus Balrown.—Johannes le Bulk.  
 1330 Robertus Balrown.—Johannes le Ker.  
 1331 to 1338 No returns found.†  
 1339 Johannes de Lancastria.—Robertus Berwyke.

1466-77 From this period the Parliaments have been uniformly held at Westminster. The writs, indentures, and returns from 17 Edward IV., A.D. 1447, to 1 Edward VI., 1547, are all lost throughout England, except an imperfect bundle, 33 Henry VIII., A.D. 1541.

- 1547 Thomas Childs, knt.—Stephen Vaughan, esq.  
 1553 Thomas Carus.—John Caryl.  
 1553 Thomas Tresham, knt.—Thomas Carus, knt. [? esq.]  
 1554 John Heywood, esq.—George Felton, esq.  
 1554 Richard Baket, esq.—Richard Weston, esq.

\* 23 Edward I., 13th Nov. 1295. 20th Nov. 1296.—Lambertus le Despencer et Willielmus le Chaunter Burgens' Lancast' electi sunt pro burgo Lancast' per consensum totius comitatus qui plenam et sufficientem potestatem pro se et communitate Comitatus prædicti habent ad faciend' quod Dominus Rex de communi consilio suo ordinabit.

Et prædictus Lambertus manuc' est veniend' per Adam de le Grene et Jo'hem de Overton.

Et prædictus Willielmus manuc' est per Thomam Molendinar' et Hugonem le Barker.

These are the guarantees for the appearance of the members on the day mentioned in the writ.

† Perhaps the reason of this may be found in the following remarks—"many times there were not found any proper persons in the boroughs for the service of Parliament when the returns were made, the representatives being chosen out of *their own body*, and not of strangers, or county gentlemen. And in the next place the Boroughs were so poor that they were *not able to pay members* their wages or expenses, and instances have occurred of *petitions* to be *exonerated from the charge* of returning Representatives."—*Brady on Boroughs*, &c., p. 118.

- 1555 Thomas Carus.—Thomas Hungate.  
 1557 Clement Higham, knt.—William Ryce, esq.  
 1558 Thomas Berger, knt.—Robert Fleetwood.  
 1563 John Hales, esq.—William Fleetwood.  
 1571 Thomas Cave, esq.—Stephen Hale, esq.  
 1572 Thomas Sadleir, esq.—Henry Sadleir, esq.  
 1585 Henry Sadleir.—Thomas Gerard.  
 1586 Thomas Gerard, esq.—Henry Sadleir, esq.  
 1588 Roger Dalton, esq.—John Atherton, esq.  
 1592 John Preston.—John Awdeley.  
 1597 Thomas Hesketh, esq. (Recorder).—Edmund Hubbart, esq.  
 1601 John Bowes, knt.—Carew Reynolds, esq.  
 1603 Thomas Hesketh, knt.—Thomas Fanshawe, esq.  
 1614 Humphrey May, knt.—Thomas Fanshawe, esq.  
 1620 Humphrey May, knt.—Thomas Fanshawe, esq.  
 1623 John Selden, esq.\*—Thomas Fanshawe, esq.  
 1625 Thomas Jermyn, esq.—Thomas Fanshawe, knt.  
 1626 Humphrey May, knt.—Thomas Fanshawe, knt.  
 1628 Francis Bindloss, knt.—Thomas Fanshawe, knt.  
 1640 Roger Kirkeby, esq.—John Harrison, knt.  
 1645 Robert Bindloss, bart.—Thomas Fell, esq.†  
 1651 Henry Porter, esq.‡  
 1656 Henry Porter, esq.

\* The learned Author, of that name. A very fine portrait of him may be seen in Halton Hall.

† 9th October, 1643.—An order for sequestering the rents and profits of the vicarage of Lancaster, whereof Dr. Augustus Wildbore was late vicar, to the use of Mr. Nehemiah Barnett, a godly, learned, and orthodox divine, who is hereby appointed and required to preach every Lord's day there; and take care for the discharge of the cure of that place, in all the duties thereof, until further orders shall be taken by this house;—was this day read, and by votes upon the question, assented to.

7th June, 1645.—Resolved &c. That when this unnatural war shall be ended, the town of Lancaster shall have and receive eight thousand pounds out of the estates of such papists and delinquents within the said county, as were actually at the burning of the said town, to be equally divided amongst the inhabitants proportionably to their losses, the said inhabitants themselves being no delinquents.

1st March, 1646.—Resolved that Lancaster Castle be disgarrisoned and the new works slighted.

23rd December, 1647.—Ordered, that the inhabitants of the town of Lancaster, whose houses were burnt by the enemy, shall for this year ensuing, farm so many of the papists' and delinquents' lands and estates within the county of Lancaster, as were at the burning thereof, to be chosen by the inhabitants, at rates as the same shall recoverably give of the Committee of Sequestration in the said county, so as the annual value thereof for this year, do not exceed the sum of £2,000; which sum of £2,000 is hereby ordered to be discounted and allowed to the said inhabitants upon the order of this House, date 7th June, 1645, in part of payment of the £8,000 ordered for the relief of the said inhabitants.

1st July, 1648.—That it be referred to the gentlemen of the county of Lancaster, to consider of and nominate a fit person to command the Castle of Lancaster.

‡ This was Cromwell's second Parliament. Only one member was returned for Lancaster.

- 1658-9 Colonel William West.—Henry Porter, junior, esq.  
 1660 Sir Gilbert Gerard.—William West.  
 1661 John Harrison, knt.—Richard Kirkby.  
 1678-9 Richard Harrison.—Richard Bold.  
 1680-1 William Spencer.—Richard Bold. [Kirkby]  
 1685 Roger Kirkby.—Henry Crispe.  
 1688-9 John Belson.—John Raven  
 1690 Thomas Preston.—Roger Kirkby.  
 1695 Thomas Preston.—Roger Kirkby.  
 1698 Robert Heysham.—Roger Kirkby.  
 1701 Robert Heysham.—Roger Kirkby.  
 1702 Robert Heysham.—Sir William Lowther  
 1705 Robert Heysham.—William Heysham.  
 1707 Robert Heysham.—William Heysham.  
 1708 Robert Heysham.—William Heysham.  
 1710 Robert Heysham.—William Heysham.  
 1713 Robert Heysham.—William Heysham.  
 1715 Dodyngton Braddyll.—William Heysham.  
 1722 Sir Thomas Lowther.—William Heysham, esq.  
 1727 Sir Thomas Lowther.—William Heysham, esq.\*  
 1727 Sir Thomas Lowther, bart.—Christopher Tower, junior, esq.  
 1734 Sir Thomas Lowther, bart.—Robert Fenwick, esq.  
 1741 Sir Thomas Lowther, bart.—Robert Fenwick, esq.  
 1745 Francis Reynolds, esq.—Edward Marton, esq.  
 1747 Robert Fenwick, esq.—Francis Reynolds, esq.  
 1754 Francis Reynolds, esq.—George Warren, esq.  
 1758 George Warren, esq.—Edward Marton, esq.  
 1761 Francis Reynolds, esq.—Sir George Warren, K.B.  
 1762 Francis Reynolds, esq.—Sir George Warren, K.B.  
 1758 Francis Reynolds, esq.—Sir George Warren, K.B. (Fearful rioting at the time of this election).  
 1773 Lord Richard Cavendish.—Sir George Warren, K.B.  
 1774 Lord Richard Cavendish.—Sir George Warren, K.B.  
 1780 Abraham Rawlinson, esq.—Wilson Braddyll, esq.  
 1784 Abraham Rawlinson, esq.—Francis Reynolds, esq.  
 1786 Sir George Warren, knt. (in the room of F. Reynolds, esq., who succeeded to the title of Lord Ducie).  
 1790 John Dent, esq.†—Sir George Warren, K.B.

\* "1729. In the 2nd month this year William Heysham, who was one of the members of Parliament for Lancaster, died at Bath, who was an indolent man, and no service: but he left an estate at Greaves, the rent to eight poor freemen, to be named by the Mayor, Recorder, and three of the oldest Aldermen, and soe successively as any die, which is at least £8 a year each, the estate being above £40 a year. The next month Christopher Towers, junior, was elected in his stead, to serve and succeed him in Parliameut, aged about 30 years and unmarried."—*Lanc. MSS.* vol. xi., p. 345: *Autobiography of William Stout*.

† In the Metropolitan Police C. Division, July, 25, 1849, occurs the following notice:—"Stolen some time during the last three years from No. — Hertford Street, Mayfair, the property of Villiers Dent, Esq., a silver tripod candelabra, with six



- 1796 John Dent, esq.—Richard Penn, esq.     .  
 1801 John Dent, esq.—Richard Penn, esq.  
 1802 John Dent, esq.—Rt. Hon. Alexander Marquis of Douglass. (1,936 freemen polled.)  
 1806 John Dent, esq.—John Fenton Cawthorne, esq.  
 1807 John Dent, esq.—Peter Patten, esq.  
 1812 Colonel Gabriel Doveton.—J. F. Cawthorne, esq. (of Wyersdale).  
 1819 John Gladstone, esq.—Colonel Doveton. (2,500 freemen polled.)  
 1820 Colonel Gabriel Doveton —John Fenton Cawthorne, esq.  
 1824 T. Gregson, esq. (vice Doveton, deceased).—J. F. Cawthorne, esq.  
 1826 Thomas Greene, esq.—J. F. Cawthorne, esq.  
 1830 Thomas Greene, esq.—J. F. Cawthorne, esq.  
 1831 Thomas Greene, esq.—J. F. Cawthorne, esq.  
 1833 Thomas Greene, esq.—Patrick Maxwell Stewart, esq.  
 1834 Thomas Greene, esq.—P. M. Stewart, esq.  
 1835 Thomas Greene, esq.—P. M. Stewart, esq.  
 1837 Thomas Greene, esq.—George Marton, esq.  
 1841 Thomas Greene, esq.—George Marton, esq.  
 1847 Thomas Greene, esq.—Samuel Gregson, esq.  
 1848 Robert Baynes Armstrong, esq. (In the room of S. Gregson, esq., who was, on petition, unseated.)

## Public Charities, &c.

### ALMSHOUSES.

*Gardiner's*.—See p. 284 of Commissioners' Report. Also p. 251 of the present volume.

*Penny's*.—Erected under the direction of the Will of William Penny, bearing date 2nd March, 1716; for the payment of five marks a-year to twelve poor ancient indigent men and women of Lancaster; with a chapel for prayers, salary for a clerk in orders; any residue to be employed in putting out apprentices. [Report, p. 265—258.] These Alms-houses are situated in King Street.

*Gillison's*.—Mrs. Ann Gillison, by will, bearing date 19th January, 1751, left £1600 to build and endow houses for eight distressed old maids; who were to receive £3 each annually, by quarterly or half-yearly payments, and a gown value £1 to each per annum; the surplus, if any, to be laid out in repairs, or augmenting the annuities of the said poor women; or both. She also left £100 to the Lancaster Dispensary; £100 to the Charity School for Girls; £50 to the Manchester, and £50 to the Liverpool Infirmary; £100 each to eight distant relations; and £50 to each of her servants. [Report p. 298.]

branches, supported by a dolphin on the tripod, and two views of Lancaster, with presentation inscription, 'To J. Dent, Esq., from his Constituents,' the whole in frosted silver, made by Rundell and Bridge, and was presented about thirty five years since."

*Townson's*.—In 1778, were six houses at the south end of Penny Street, called "Townson's Almshouses," which were pulled down, and the site laid to the street, about 1811, the Corporation paying 11s. quarterly to one of the old women who lived there, until she was appointed to one of Gardyner's Almshouses.\* [Report p. 269.]

*Johnson's*.—Six Almshouses were founded by George Johnson, in 1651. Query, whether this is not the same as the *Townson's* Almshouses. There is no mention of them in the Commissioners' Report, but in Dr. James Dugdale's "History of Lancashire," vol. iii., p. 303, the above notice is given of them.

#### CHARITIES.

*Edmundson's*.—See History of the Castle, p. 223. Commissioners' Report, p. 272.

*France's*.—By indenture, bearing date 27th May, 1818, Mrs. Margaret France, widow, left £300 upon trust, the dividends arising therefrom, after her decease, to be laid out as follows,—the day after her funeral, twenty shillings apiece to each of the inmates of *Gillison's* and *Penny's* Almshouses; and after discharging the expenses of this deed, &c., to transfer two-thirds of the funds remaining to the Trustees of the Lancaster Dispensary; and the other third, the dividends to be employed in repairing or improving the dwellings constituting *Gillison's* Hospital, [Report, p. 269.]

*Gerrard's*.—Sir Thomas Gerrard's Charity. See History of the Castle, p. 223. Report, p. 272.

*Harrison's*.—Sir John Harrison, knt., born at Lancaster, 1589, by will, dated 21st September, 1669, gave to the poor of Lancaster, £100, to be laid out in land, to pay the poor a yearly revenue for ever. [Report, p. 269.]

*Heysham's*.—William Heysham, esq., of East Green, in the county of Kent, by will bearing date 22nd April, 1725, gave all his messuages, lands, and tenements, called "The Greaves," situate near Lancaster, in case he should die without issue, to Mary Miller, for life, and after her decease, to the Corporation of Lancaster for ever, in trust, that the rents and profits should be applied for the equal use and benefit of such eight poor men of and inhabiting within the town of Lancaster, for their respective lives, as the Mayor, Recorder, and the three senior Aldermen should appoint. Full particulars of this Charity are given in the Commissioners' Report, p. 269—271.

*Lathom's*.—Peter Lathom, of Bispham, yeoman, by his will, bearing date 2nd April, 1700, gave the clear yearly profits of so much land as £200 would purchase, for the use of the poor prisoners in Lancaster Castle, according to the discretion of such persons as his trustees should appoint to distribute the same. See History of the Castle, p. 223. Full particulars of his bequest will be found in the Commissioner's Report, No. xv., p. 129—134.

\* In *Blinn's* Map of Lancaster, the site is called "Tomlinson's Almshouses."

*Rigby's.*—Abigail Rigby, by will, in 1709, gave for the prisoners for debt, in Lancaster Castle, a rent-charge of £2 per annum, and a similar rent-charge for the benefit of poor widows, not receiving parish relief. See History of the Castle, p. 223.

*Rigby's.*—Henrietta Rigby, by will, bearing date 5th August, 1741, directed that her executrix should pay into the hands of two such persons as at the time of her death, should be Vicar of the parish church of Lancaster, and Mayor of the borough of the same place, the sum of £100, upon trust, to lay out the same in the purchase of lands, near the town of Lancaster, and on the first of every March, yearly for ever thereafter, at their discretion, distribute and pay the clear rents or profits thereof as follows, namely,—twenty shillings amongst such four of the poorest widows, housekeepers, living within the town of Lancaster, as they shall believe to be most necessitous, and the residue equally amongst twelve of the most necessitous prisoners in the Castle, who should be known to be laborious, sober people, and who would not lavish their money and time in drinking or gaming. The sum of £4 is paid annually, as the interest, out of the funds of the Corporation, and twenty shillings, part thereof, is distributed by the Mayor and the Vicar of Lancaster, about the month of June, equally amongst four poor widows of the town, two of whom are selected by the Mayor and two by the Vicar. The remaining £3 are paid by the Gaoler, with other charity money. This legacy is supposed to have been paid to the Corporation, but was never laid out in land as directed by the executrix. [Report, p. 272.]

*Rogerson's.*—George Rogerson, by indenture, dated 15th January, 1619, for the benefit of the poor people inhabiting the town of Preston, and for the better helping and relieving the poor prisoners, which from time to time should be in the Castle of Lancaster, enfeoffed and conveyed to Roger Langton and five others, and their heirs, certain lands, with their appurtenances, directing them, after the decease of himself and his wife, to hold the same to the use of Edmund Rogerson and his heirs, he paying yearly, for ever, the sum of £13; £9 thereof to the Mayor of Preston and four of the ancient aldermen, for the use of the poor people inhabiting in the town of Preston, and towards the help and maintenance of such poor apprentices as should be towardly to learn some occupation, at the discretion of the said Mayor and Aldermen; and the residue to the Mayor of the town of Lancaster and some of the ancient Aldermen of the said town, towards relieving the poor prisoners with meat and drink, who should from time to time be in the Castle of Lancaster; the same to be paid half-yearly, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, and St. Thomas the Apostle, with a power of entry in case of nonpayment. [Report, No. xi., p. 327.]

*The Salt Marsh.*—In the vicinity of Lancaster is an excellent Salt Marsh, adjoining the banks of the Lune, of which about 179A. 2A. 7P. belong to eighty of the oldest freemen of this borough, or their widows, being held in trust by the Corporation. This Marsh is pas-

tured and divided into what are termed *Orl-grasses*: that is, a privilege of turning *one* horse or *two* cows, of any size, to runnage upon this common; a poney being reckoned equal to *two* oxen, however small the horse or large the ox. The number of Grasses or Gates is equal to that of privileged burgesses, with two more for the trustees, eighty-two in the whole. An act for enlarging, draining, and embanking this Marsh was obtained, 36 George III., A.D. 1795, previous to which time it was a "stinted pasture." It is now in a state of good cultivation, and the receipts increased about threefold since its enclosure, each freeman, formerly entitled to a Marsh Grass, now receives four pounds annually. The Corporation are the trustees.\*

*The Marine Society.*—Was established in 1792, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of deceased masters and first-mates of vessels belonging to the port of Lancaster. The members of this Institution pay an entrance of two guineas, and half-a-guinea every three months. The widows of deceased masters or mates of vessels are entitled to twelve pounds a year, each, during life, provided their husbands have regularly paid their subscriptions for three years previous to their demise. Honorary members pay, at least, one guinea a year.†

*St. Anne's Benevolent Society*, established in 1802, supported by voluntary contributions and an annual Collection in St. Anne's Church. This Society embraces three practical objects for relief—sick persons—poor lying-in-women—and old and infirm people. It is confined to no congregation, sect, or party, but free to all who attend any place of worship.

#### FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

When Mr. Clark published his account of Lancaster, in 1811, there were thirteen of these Societies for men and four for women; the number of members belonging to the former amounted at Whitsuntide, 1806, to 2,027. In 1820, the "*Lonsdale Magazine*" shows that they had dwindled down to three: "*The Good Intent*," "*Friendship and Union*," and "*The Samaritan*." We have not been able to obtain a correct list of the existing Friendly Societies. From an account of the "Widows' and Orphans' Fund in connection with the Lancaster District of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity," we learn that eight lodges, containing about 251 members, have relieved widows and orphans to the amount of £120 : 15 : 0.

#### LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.

*The Agricultural Society*, established in Lancaster, towards the end of the last century, offers premiums for whatever is considered the most valuable to the farm, in order that persons may be induced to attend to those particular points, for the sake of the reward, and thus become imbued with the love for improvement, from the benefit resulting from their various attempts.

\* Clark, p. 53.

† Clark, p. 51.

*A Society of Amateurs*, for the encouragement of the fine arts, formerly existed in this town. The best drawings were procured and lent out to the members, as copies, under proper regulations, and the expenses were defrayed by annual subscriptions.

*The Amicable Library*.—Instituted in Lancaster, 1768; supported by shares and annual subscriptions; and governed by a committee elected at each annual meeting, and in whom the property of the Society is vested.

*The Athenæum*, established in 1849, for the purpose of engaging Lecturers and giving Concerts to its members. Supported by annual subscriptions.

*The Church of England Instruction Society*, established in 1848, in New Street, opposite the Savings' Bank, supported by annual subscriptions and donations.

*The Clerical Library*, or *Dr. Bray's Library*, kept at Mr. Edmondson's, in the Market-place; containing a goodly collection of books, principally theological. Supported by annual subscriptions.

*The Law Society*, having a *Library* at Mr. Edmondson's, Market-place, established 1838, for the "prevention of illiberal practice, and for the purpose of supporting generally, the respectability of the profession."

*Literary, Scientific, and Natural History Society*, instituted, 1815.

*The Mechanics' Institute*, established 1825, supported by voluntary contributions.

*News Rooms*.—*The Merchants' News Room*, situated in Market Street, has been established about sixty years, supported by annual subscriptions; the *Library News Room*, in New Street; and the *Reform News Room*, in Market Street. There is also a News Room attached to the Mechanics' Institution.

#### RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

Amongst the Religious Societies established in Lancaster may be mentioned the following :—

*British and Foreign Bible Society*.—Established in A.D. 1814

*Church Missionary Society*.—Established 1815.

*Church Pastoral Aid Society*.—Established in 1842.

*Christian Knowledge Society and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.—Established in 1815. Depôt of the former Society at Mr. Edmondson's, Market-place.

*Irish Church Missions*.—Established in 1851.

*Religious Tract Society*, may be said to have originated as early as 1781, when the Rev. G. Burder issued a tract and address to every householder in Lancaster. He was one of the original promoters of the "London Religious Tract Society," a branch of which has existed in this town from the commencement.

*Working Men's Lord's Day Society*.—Three prizes of the several amounts of £10, £7, and £5 were offered by the Committee of this Society for

the three best essays on "the various forms of Sabbath Desecration in and around Lancaster, and the remedies adapted to meet them." The first prize was adjudged to Joseph Wildman, cotton-warp dresser, whose essay entitled "The Day that the Lord hath Made," was published last year.

#### SCHOOLS.

"There were in this parish, at the period of the Education Inquiry, 33 Daily Schools, attended by 699 males and 556 females; 5 Day and Sunday Schools, attended by 471 males, and 325 females; 3 Infants' Schools, attended by 33 males and 34 females; and 12 Sunday Schools, attended by 694 males and 807 females. Of these 11 daily, attended by 361 males and 244 females; 3 Day and Sunday, attended by 390 and 233 females, and 4 Sunday, attended by 529 males and 646 females, besides a Roman Catholic Day and Sunday School, and 2 Boarding Schools, were within the township and borough of Lancaster. The remainder being divided amongst the various other townships. Of the Daily Schools within the borough, one consists of the Grammar School, a very ancient establishment, supported partly by the Corporation, and partly by quarterly payments from the scholars, 61 males. Income from Endowment £29 per annum. Another, a Lancasterian School contains about 130 males and 70 females, and is supported by voluntary subscriptions, and small payments from the children. Of the Day and Sunday Schools, 2 containing 37 males and 170 males respectively are National, with a lending library common to both; the boys' being endowed with £2,000 Navy 5 per cent., and further supported, as the other is entirely, by subscriptions and payments of 1d. per week from the children. The other Day and Sunday School consists of "a Charity School for girls", attended by 63 girls, educated and clothed by voluntary contributions. The Sunday Schools belong respectively to the Established Church, Congregational Independents, Wesleyan Methodists, and Independent Methodists."\*

*Royal Grammar School*, originally built and endowed by the feoffees of John Gardynzer, 12th June, 1485, rebuilt 1682. A new Schoolroom is now in course of erection, towards which her Majesty, as Duchess of Lancaster, graciously subscribed £100, on her late visit to this town. This School was a *free* Grammar School, open to the admission of all boys of Lancaster and its neighbourhood without distinction, and previously to 1824, no payment was made to the master or usher, except a gratuity at Shrove-tide called "Cockpenny."

*Friends' School*, for boys and girls, adjoins their place of worship, of which indeed it may be said to be a part.

*Girls' Blue Coat School*, instituted 1792. The present School-room situate in Middle Street, was built in 1849—1850. Over the door is a representation of two girls habited in the costume of the school, in alto relievo.

\* Parl. Gaz., lli. p. 32.

*Boys' National School*, originally erected on the Green Area, in 1817, but these premises being bought by the North Western Railway Company, a new Schoolroom was erected 1850, which was opened in due form by the Mayor, &c., 14th January, 1851. By the last report it appears there were 405 children on the boards, with an average attendance of between 330 and 340.

*Lancasterian School*, commenced about the year 1813, it was originally situated in Moor Lane, but this building having been sold, another was erected in Aldcliffe Lane.

*Girls' National School*, by the report it appears that last year, the number of girls on the books was 176; the average daily attendance 120; in the Infant School, 180 on the books, and average daily attendance 150.

*St. Thomas's Schools* established in the year 1843, supported entirely by voluntary contributions. Children, 90 boys, 70 girls, Infant School, 100.

*Boys' Blue Coat School*, instituted in 1770, originally 40 boys were educated and clothed, but two years after its institution, the number was increased to 50. This School is now merged into the National School.

*The Roman Catholic School* containing 90 children of each sex. This building was erected in 1851.

#### SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

The boys in the *National School* attend also on the Sabbath, and are conducted to St. Mary's Church in the morning, and to St. John's in the afternoon: unless it be the wish of the parents, that they should attend St. Anne's, in which case the conductors of the latter school make a return of all the boys from the National School, who have attended Divine service at that Church.

The children belonging to the *Girls' Charity School*, who, now form part of the *Girls' National School*, meet also in the schoolroom on Sunday, and are thence conducted in the morning to St. John's Church, and in the afternoon to St. Mary's.

*St. Anne's Sunday School*, comprises in general about 400 or 500 children of both sexes, instructed by about 40 gratuitous teachers.

*St. Thomas's Sunday School*, is held in the St. Thomas's National School-room situate in Marton Street, and has 160 children: 90 girls and 70 boys.

*The Independents' Sunday School*, meets partly in a room under the Chapel, in High Street, and partly in St. Mary Street, and under the Assembly Rooms. There are 600 children, 340 girls and 260 boys; and 50 gratuitous teachers.

*The Methodists' Sunday School*, was established about the year 1806. This school is held in the Oddfellows' Hall. There are 350 children and 45 gratuitous teachers. A School-room is about to be erected in a new street, called Edward-street.

*The Roman Catholics* have also a Sunday School.

## Public Buildings.

## CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

*St. Mary's*.—The parish Church. A Vicarage erected 9th February, A.D. 1430. Some alteration took place in the endowment of this vicarage, A.D. 1431, January 12. Patron, *G. Marton*, esq. Present Incumbent, Rev. *Joseph Turner*, M.A., instituted 1844. Steeple erected 1759.

COPY OF THE ENDOWMENT OF THE VICARAGE OF ST. MARY,  
LANCASTER.

To all Sons of Holy Mother Church, to whom and to whose knowledge these present letters and the matters contained in the same shall come, and whom the matters within written do concern, or may any wise in future concern, Henry Bowet, archdeacon of the archdeaconry of Richmond, in the church of York, wisheth eternal salvation in the Lord. To the knowledge of you all we make known by these presents, that on the part of those religious persons, Dame Jane North, abbess, and the convent of the monastery of St. Saviour, and Saints Mary the Virgin, and Bridgett, of Syon, of the order of Augustine, called St. Saviour, in the diocese of London, it hath to us been expounded that the priory or church of Lancaster, together with the church of Poulton, of our said archdeaconry, with its rights and appurtenances, whatsoever hath been and was and is by sufficient authority, right and title to the said monastery of Syon and to the abbess and convent thereof, in part of the dotation of the same monastery given or granted, and by free authority and pretext of the donation and grant thereof, the said abbey were and are in the actual possession of the said priory or church of Lancaster, with the said church of Poulton, and with other the rights and appurtenances whatsoever, and have duly and legitimately become possessed of the same, and have been lawfully introduced to the actual possession thereof, and that on the part of the abbess and convent, proprietors as aforesaid of the church of Lancaster and the same to their uses, lawfully having obtained to the uses of their said monastery of Syon. We have been earnestly and often reasonably and lawfully requested, and of us at present it is earnestly and duly besought that we would think fit to proceed to the creation of one perpetual vicar in the said church of Lancaster, to officiate; And to the ordination, limitation, and dotation to him, the vicar, in and out of the spiritual fruits and profits of the said church of Lancaster; And to the assignment of a fit portion by which the same vicar may be fitly supported, and may be able duly to sustain the charges incumbent on him and his vicarage, according to the exigency of the law: Wherefore we, Henry Bowet, the archdeacon aforesaid, ordinary of the said church of Lancaster, to whom all, and all



manner of spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction is as well of right as by laudable custom and ancient lawful prescription in this behalf known to appertain, of the annual value of the fruits, rents, and profits whatsoever of the said church of Lancaster, and of the charge on the same church, as well by view of a process of a certain Inquisition by our authority and mandate rightly and lawfully taken and to us, in this behalf, lawfully certified and exhibited fully and truly, we have been informed, And those forms being preserved which in this behalf are proper to be kept, And those things being weighed which are worthy to be considered in the creation and dotation of the perpetual vicarage in the said church of Lancaster, And to the assignment of the portion of the vicar of the said vicarage for the time being, the name of Christ having been first invoked by us; At the request and earnest petition on the part of the said abbes and convent of the said monastery of Syon, proprietors of the said church of Lancaster, And having, as aforesaid, obtained the same to their proper use and that of their monastery, we do proceed, and with the license, consent, and assent, of the reverend father in Christ, and our lord William, by the grace of God, bishop of London, to us in his diocese, at the time of the decree, ordination, and other the proceedings within described, being granted and had during the same, We do proceed after this manner:—

*Imprimis.*—We do create and direct that there shall always be one perpetual vicarage to be had, named, held, and possessed for a perpetual ecclesiastical benefice in the said church of Lancaster; the endowment of which perpetual vicarage and the portion of the same vicar thereof, out of the oblations, tythes, dues, and profits to the said church of Lancaster, belonging us, have been willing shall arise and consist in the things under written, which said vicar as often and when the same vicarage shall happen to be vacant, on the presentation of the abbes and convent of the said monastery of Syon, who now are and their successors for the time being obtaining the said church of Lancaster as aforesaid to the archdeacon of the said archdeaconry for the time being, the same archdeaconry being full, and when the archdeaconry shall be vacant, to whatever other person occupying, having, and exercising the ordinary jurisdiction of the said archdeaconry by him, the said archdeacon, or by whomsoever occupying and exercising the like ordinary jurisdiction, we will and decree to be instituted and inducted. And we decree that the portion of the same vicar for the time being shall be in oblations and tythes, and other profits and emoluments coming from the places, things, and goods (within described) only, and not to consist or be in other things, in all future times. And we decree, limit, and assign, that the perpetual vicar of the said vicarage, whosoever he shall be for the time being, shall for the sustentation of him the said vicar, and in support of the charges on him, as vicar and his said vicarage, receive and have freely, peaceably, and quietly:—*Imprimis*, We do assign, limit, and ordain, that the vicar of the said vicarage whosoever or the time being, henceforward in all future times, shall have, occupy,

and possess, and shall repair and sustain, and in all respects shall keep and maintain the entire mansion called formerly "The Priory," with all its houses, chambers, dovecotes, and stables, and the gardens thereof, except one decent chamber and stable, with free ingress and egress to the same, for the officers and ministers of the said abbess and convent, as often as they shall go thither, and which for ever in future at their own charge, they shall be bound to repair and maintain as often as need shall require, And which entire mansion with its buildings, chambers, dovecotes, and stables, and gardens, except as before excepted, to the said vicar of the said vicarage of Lancaster, in which mansion we decree and ordain the said vicar whosoever he shall be, for the time being, continually according to the exigency of law, shall dwell and perpetually inhabit and keep hospitality there according to the powers of him the said vicar and his vicarage. Item,—we ordain, limit, and assign that the said vicar of the said church, whosoever he shall be for the time being, shall have besides the premises with the name and right of portion of his vicarage tithes of all sheaves of, in, and out of the fields of the whole ville of Lancaster, and the tithes of all sheaves of Thornham and Glasson, within the parish of the said church of Lancaster, in what manner soever arising, and also the tithes of sheaves of Ribby, Wray, and Badgerburgh, within the said parish arising; And the oblations whatsoever in three principal feasts, to wit, in the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, Easter, and the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, And the oblations whatsoever in the days of Good Friday and Easter, at the cross in the said church of Lancaster, and of the said chapels offered, made, and coming, and the oblations whatsoever in the purifications of women, with the chrismal clothes arising in the said church and chapels, and the oblations and other emoluments whatsoever by reason of marriages in the said church and chapels thereof arising, and the wax at the time of burials of the dead, and in the anniversaries of the deceased in the said church and chapels arising And also the mortuaries whatsoever in the parish of the said church, with its members, and the said vicar shall receive and have in the right and name of his portion for ever tithes whatsoever of lambs, wool, calves, butter, milk, and cheese, of whomsoever inhabiting the places called Wyersdale and Blessedale, and the tithes entirely of pigs, ducks, salmon, eggs, salt, garlick, onions, and leeks, and of flax and hemp, of dovecotes, apples, hay, and mills of the whole parish, And the consecrated bread, according to the customs of the said parish of Lancaster aforesaid, And the oblations whatsoever "ad truncos" as well in the said church of Lancaster as elsewhere within the parish of the said church made and arising, and also the tithe of agistment of Toxteth, Croxteth, and Simondwood, howsoever arising, and also the emoluments or oblations ecclesiastical and spiritual, called in the said parish of Lancaster, "Quadragesimal fines," And the tithes or quadragesimal fines of Fulwood, Cadely, and Hyde Park, and also the minute and mixed tithes of the chapel of Overton, and the minute and mixed tithes of the chapel

of Stalmyne, and the minute and mixed tithes of the chapels of Caton, and Gressingham, And also the oblations whatsoever as well in wax as in money, in the feast of the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, wheresoever within the parish of the said church of Lancaster yearly arising, And the wax and candles offered as well in the said church of Lancaster, as in all the chapels of the same, with the wax in the baptism of children arising and monies whatsoever to the high altar of the said church of Lancaster, bequeathed and otherwise from the devotion of the parishioners of the said church and others within the said parish, however arising, the aforesaid vicar shall for ever have and receive. And the above-mentioned places, things, tithes, oblations, fruits, and emoluments, and goods above specified, have been and are worth, one year with another concurring, £76 : 19 : 7¼ of money of England, as and by Inquisition lawfully and by our authority and mandate taken in this behalf, manifestly appears. We therefore, Henry the aforesaid arch-deacon, will and by our ordinary authority do ordain, appoint, and decree that the vicar of the said vicarage whosoever for the time being, shall have, bear, and exercise the charge of the due support and cure of the said church of Lancaster and of the parishioners of the said church whatsoever, present and future, viz.: at the due and accustomed fit and proper hours, places, and times, celebrating or causing to be celebrated masses and other divine offices due and accustomed, and ministering or causing to be ministered to the said parishioners, ecclesiastical sacraments, and sacramentals, and wine and bread, and lights for the celebration of masses in the church of Lancaster aforesaid, And also convenient books and vestments for divine offices in the same, according to that which in the other parochial churches near to the same church of Lancaster is most usual to be found, and by the rectors of the same, have been accustomed and due. And the vicar aforesaid, shall find washing of the vestments as often as shall be needful, the said vicar, whosoever, for the time being, shall also find and sustain six chaplains, three of whom shall celebrate divine service in the said church of Lancaster, and the three chaplains, that is to say, one in the chapel of Gressingham, another in the chapel of Caton, and the third chaplain in the chapel of Stalmyne, at the charges and expenses of the said vicar, shall celebrate divine service according as other chaplains have hitherto in these three chapels been found and have celebrated, by the possessors who have obtained and occupied the said church of Lancaster, and have been found and celebrated at their charges. Also, the said vicar shall find one clerk or sacristan in the said church of Lancaster, there to serve in divine matters. Likewise, the *pence of St. Peter* by the same parish of the said church of Lancaster and the parishioners thereof, accustomed to be paid, and the tenth of and for the church of Lancaster to the lord the king of England to be paid as often and when the same tenth or any part thereof shall happen to be granted, and also, procurations of the apostolical chancery yearly by the said church of Lancaster accustomed to be paid. Synodals also, and other rights whatsoever, to the

archdeacon, whomsoever, of the said archdeaconry for the time being, due and accustomed heretofore, by the possessor and occupier of the said church of Lancaster, whoever it might be, and by him accustomed to be paid, and other ordinary and extraordinary charges whatever, to the said church of Lancaster and the vicarage aforesaid, in anywise belonging, by payment of the same the sufficient repair of the chancel of the said church this first time, and the chamber and stables aforesaid, And also the pension of £40 6s. 8d., by reason of the indemnity of the said archdeaconry for first fruits of the said priory or church of Lancaster, and the church of Lancaster, and the church of Poulton, by occasion and pretext of the donation and grant of the same priory or church of Lancaster, with the church of Poulton aforesaid, to the said monastery of Syon, made by the abbess and convent of the same monastery, according to the exigency of a concord and composition between the said dame Joan North, abbess, and the convent of the same monastery, for themselves and their successors, and us Henry Bowet, archdeacon, for us and our successors whatsoever, made and to be paid, only excepted, We do ordain and decree to the perpetual vicar whosoever he shall be of the said vicarage for the time being, perpetually to appertain.

Moreover we ordain, decree, and direct, that is to say, We Henry Bowet, the archdeacon aforesaid, by our aforesaid ordinary authority, that the abbess and convent of the said monastery of Syon, proprietors of the aforesaid church of Lancaster with the church of Poulton aforesaid, given and granted in *all future times*, shall perpetually have and receive in *all future times* all and all manner, the greater tythes of whatsoever kind of blade and hay, and the other rights and emoluments whatsoever, to the same church of Lancaster howsoever appertaining and belonging, except the portions and parcels above specified by us as aforesaid, to and for the portion of the said vicar and his aforesaid vicarage limited and assigned them, to the said abbess and convent and to their monastery aforesaid, we do reserve and decree for ever to appertain; And because to us, Henry Bowet, the archdeacon aforesaid, the ordination of the said church of Lancaster and of the said vicarage by the inquisition aforesaid, by our authority and mandate in that behalf lawfully taken; And by other lawful documents, and by sufficient and legitimate evidences to us in that respect shewn, it evidently appears and is manifest, that the oblations, tythes, and profits of the places above specified, and by us by our said ordinary authority, to and for the portion of the said vicar and his vicarage aforesaid, limited and assigned to the annual value of £76 19s. 7½d. of money of England, one year with another have hitherto been valued, and forasmuch as the same are likely to be worth as much in future perpetually; Therefore, the portion aforesaid, by us as aforesaid limited and assigned, we pronounce, decree, repute, and declare to be so abundant, sufficient, and competent, that thenceforward the vicar of the said vicarage, whoever he shall be, for the time being, may conveniently sustain and keep hospitality decent for his station, and may be able to bear and support the charges to him

and his said vicarage, as above limited and ordained incumbent thereon reserving; And we do accordingly reserve power of adding to this our aforesaid ordination, and also of diminishing, interpreting, and declaring the same as often, and when it shall be needful and proper, so that the interpretation and declaration to the said addition or diminution shall stand with the consent or assent of the abbes and convent of the said monastery, the aforesaid proprietors of the said church of Lancaster. In faith and testimony of all and singular which premises, these our present letters, or this our present public instrument, and this our ordination and the contents in the same, by Mr. James Cole, notary public under-written and our scribe employed in this behalf, We have commanded to be subscribed, and into this public form to be reduced and published, and with the public sign and subscription of the same notary public strengthened. And because we have not our seal in hand and present, we have caused it to be strengthened faithfully with the seal of the venerable man, the official of Canterbury.

These things were done, and acted, and subscribed, and recited in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the Church of England, one thousand four hundred and thirty, in the ninth Indiction, and of the pontificate of the most holy father in Christ and our Lord, Martin the fifth, by divine providence Pope the fourteenth year, in the first day of the month of March, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, there being present the discreet men Master Robert Rosemond, clerk notary public, Henry Chatterton, Henry Normanton, John Colet, literate men, Robert Alyard, and William Derwyntwater, of the dioceses of Sarum, York, Lichfield, Worcester, Norwich, and Carlisle, and many other witnesses to these presents specially called and asked, and the tenor of the letter of license by the said reverend father in Christ and Lord, the lord William, bishop of London, to us Henry Bowet, the aforesaid archdeacon, in this behalf as aforesaid granted, of which mention hath been made above, and which is as follows;—William, by divine permission bishop of London, to our venerable man, Henry Bowet, archdeacon of Richmond, in the church of York, Greeting, grace and benediction. We have lately heard that the erection, creation, foundation, and endowment of the perpetual vicarage of the church of Lancaster, of our archdeaconry and of the jurisdiction of the monastery of Saint Saviour, and of the Saints Mary the Virgin, and Bridget of Syon, of the order of Saint Augustine, called Saint Saviour, in our diocese, by sufficient authority and title and part of the dotation of the said monastery, given and granted in our said diocese, you do intend and propose, and that the process whatsoever, and acts, proceedings, and decrees, pronunciations, ordinations done and to be done whatsoever, by you in this behalf in our said diocese, about the expedition of the premises and whatsoever is to be exercised, done, and preferred, shall obtain the firmness of strength, and that freely in the premises and matters touching the same in our diocese aforesaid, wheresoever and howsoever it may please and seem expedient to

you freely to proceed and perfect the same, and all and singular the premises and other things whatsoever, in this behalf necessary and requisite, and if in your said archdeaconry and jurisdiction you shall personally be present at the time of expediting these premises, to you our license, consent, and assent we do give, grant, and bestow. In witness whereof, we have caused our seal to be put to these presents. Given in our Palace at London, on the ninth day of the month of February, A.D. 1430, and in the fifth year of our consecration.

To all Sons of our Holy Mother the Church who shall inspect these present letters, Henry Bowet, the archdeacon of the archdeaconry of Richmond in the church of York, wisheth eternal salvation in the Lord. We bring to the knowledge of you all by tenor of these presents, that we by our ordinary authority, one perpetual vicarage in the church of Lancaster, of our jurisdiction and of the archdeaconry aforesaid, at the instant petition of the abbess and convent of the monastery of St. Saviour, and the Saints Mary the Virgin, and Bridget of Syon, of the order of Saint Augustine, called Saint Saviour's, in the diocese of London, proprietors of the said church of Lancaster, and the same to the proper uses of them and their said monastery perpetually, to be possessed by sufficient authority and title with the rights and appurtenances, having obtained all and singular things concurrent and requisite being duly and lawfully observed. We do create the same perpetual vicarage in and of the fruits and profits of the said church of Lancaster, to the vicar of the said church, whosoever he shall be for the time being, to and for the sustentation of the same vicar, and the charges on him by reason of the said vicarage incumbent. We do limit and assign and other things in that behalf requisite we have decreed, made, and exercised with the consent and assent of the said abbess and convent of the said monastery, proprietors of the aforesaid church of Lancaster, expressly as in certain our letters of and upon the like creation, dotation, limitation, and assignation of us in that behalf made authentically, to which we refer, and here desire to be had as so expressed manifestly appears; And afterwards, we Henry Bowet, the archdeacon aforesaid, upon all things to the said vicarage in our aforesaid letters by us limited and assigned, more fully having deliberated this clause or these words, "and other charges ordinary and extraordinary whatsoever, to the said church of Lancaster and the vicarage aforesaid in any wise belonging, and the payment of the same," in our said letter inserted and inscribed with the express consent and assent of the said abbess and convent we do take away, revoke, and leave out, but by the like revocation, diminution, and subduction we do not intend that the vicar of the said vicarage for the time being, from any other charges in the aforesaid our letters of creation and dotation of the same vicarage by us designed and specified, shall in any wise be excluded or excused, but all and singular these charges specially assigned to the like vicar, we will and decree perpetually to appertain. Moreover, also, with the express consent of the said abbess and convent of the said church of Lancaster, the proprietors to the ordination and

dotation of the vicarage aforesaid, by manner of addition we do add, appoint, and ordain that the perpetual vicar of the said vicarage, for the time being, besides the said charges in our aforesaid letter specially described and designed, shall find and support bread and wine in and for the sacramental communion of the parishioners of the church of Lancaster aforesaid, and also all manner of lights, as by right required in the same church to be found. And also oil for the lamps and rushes for the chancel of the said church, and the customary remuneration for those bringing yearly to the said church of Lancaster, oil, chrism, and incense, and the other ordinances in our aforesaid letters made and decreed, We will and decree shall in their full force perpetually remain. In witness whereof, because we have not our seal at hand, we have procured the seal of the venerable man, the official of London, to be put to these presents, and we, the official of London, at the personal and special request of the venerable man, Master Henry Bowet, archdeacon of the said archdeaconry, do put the said seal to these presents. Dated at London, the twelfth day of the month of June, 1461.

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COPY OF THE ORIGINAL SURVEY OF CHURCH LIVINGS.

Lib't fuit Cur xiiij. die Novembris, 1650.

The Keepers of the Lib'ty of England, by authority of Parliament, to William Lenthall, Speaker of Parliament and Master of the Rolls in the High Court of Chancery; Thomas, Lord Fairfax, General of the army; John Bradshaw, Lord President of the Council of State; Bulstrode Whitelock, Richard Keble, John Lisle, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale of England; Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant Generall and and Governor Generall of Ireland. The Justices of Assizes in the county of Lancaster, Edmond Prideaux, Attorney Generall of the Common Wealth, John Moore, Thomas Fell, John Saurie, William West, George Townson, Thomas Whittingham, George Pigott, Jerehiah Aspinwall, Robert Mawdesley, Richard Standish, Richard Shuttleworth, John Starkie, Peter Holt, James Ashton, Alexander Barlowe, John Hartley, Thomas Birch, Gilbert Ireland, John Atherton, Peter Bould, Esquires; Thomas Cubham, and Robert Glest, Gentlemen, greeting:—  
~~Whereas~~, wee, for diverse good causes and considerations us at p'sent moving, and willing and intending to p'vide a competent maintenance and advancement for preaching ministers in the severall parishes throughout England and Wales, and also desireing to be certified of the certaine number and true yearly value of all parsonages and vicarages, presentations and of all and every the sp'ual and ecclesiastical benefices, liveings, and donatives as well unto which any cure of soules is annexed, as without cure of soules. Wee therefore having speciall trust and confidence in your fidelities, industries, and p'vident circumspection, have no'tated, assigned, and appointed you to be Commissioners, giving and granting unto you, and any five or more of you, full power and authority by virtue of these p'sents, to enquire as well by the oathes of good

and lawfull men of the county of Lancaster, as by the examinacions of certaine witnesses, upon oathe, and by all other good and lawfull wayes and meanes, whereby you may the better knowe and guide out as well within lib'ties as without, the truthe herein, What, and how many, parsonages and vicarages presentative, and whatsoever other sp'uall and ecclesiastical benefices and liveings, and donatives, as well to which any cure of soules is annexed as aforesaid, as without cure of soules, are lying and being within the county aforesaid, and any citties, townes, and places whatsoever, within the p'cincts, lymits, and extents, of the said county. And likewise, what each of them are worth, truely and really, by the yeare, and the names of the p'sent incumbents, proprietors, and possessors thereof, and of such p'son and p'sons as receive the pr'fitts, and to whose use, and who supplies the cure, and what he hath for his salary, and how many chappells are belonging to parish churches, and how parish churches and chappells are scituate and fitt to be united, within the lymits of the county aforesaid. And how the several churches and chappells are supplied by preaching ministers that soe course may be taken for p'viding both for preaching and for maintenance, where the same shall be found to be needefull and necessarie. And further, what chappells are fitt to be taken from parish churches and annexed to others or made parish churches, and where it is fitt, for other churches to be built, and the parishes divided, and part of them appropriated to those new built churches, And of all and every other articles and circumstances which for the better service of the Comon Wealth in this behalfe shall appear to you, or five or more of you as aforesaid, to be necessarie and behovefull, according to the tenor of a certaine Acte of this p'sent Parliament, beareing date the eighth day of June last passed, intituled an Acte for p'viding maintenance for preaching ministers and other pious uses, in this case made and p'vided. And therefore we command you that at certain dayes and places which you or any five or more of you shall appoint in this behalfe, That you doe diligently make inquirie upon the premises, and that you doe and execute all and every the thing and things in the premises, with effecte in forme aforesaid, and the same Inquisition and your whole p'ceedings in the p'mises, by you or any five or more of you, to be distinctly and clearly made, that you or any five or more of you have before us in the High Court of Chancery, with all conveniente speede, or at the furthest, a Die Trinitatis p' x' futur' in tres septimanas, under the seales of you or any five or more of you, and under the seales of them by whome the same Inquisition shall be made, together with this Commission. And we command, by virtue of these presents, the Sherrieff of the county aforesaid, that at certaine dayes and places which you or five or more of you aforesaid, shall make knowne to him, that he cause to come before you or any five or more of you as aforesaid, such and as many honest and lawfull men of his bayliwicke, as well within lib'ties as without, by whome the truthe in the premises may best be knowne and inquired of. Wee likewise command, by virtue hereof, all and singular Justices of



Peace, Maiors, Sheriffs, Bayliffes, Constables, and all other officers, ministers, and others whatsoever, that they be attending, ayding, advising and assisting unto you, or any five or more of you, in the due execution of the p'mises in all things as is requisite.

*In witness* whereof we have caused these lettres to be made patent. Witness ourselves, at Westminster, the nyne and twentieth daye of Marche, in the yere of our Lorde God one thousand six hundred and fifty.

Execucio istius Commissionis patet in quibusdam Schedus' huic Commissioni annexat',

John Atherton,	Thos. Whittingham,
Thos. Birch,	Jereiah Aspinwall,
Peter Holt,	John Sawrey.
George Pigot.	

*Inquisition* indented taken at Lancaster, in the county of Lancaster, ye xviijth day of June, in the yere of our Lorde God 1650, before Richard Shuttleworth, John Starkie, Thomas Whittingham, John Sawrey, Jereiah Aspinwall, George Townson, William West, and George Pigot, Esquires, by virtue of a Commission under the greate seale of England, to them and others directed, bearyng date the twentie-nynth daye of Marche last, for inquiryng of the number, and reall yearly value, and scituacion of churches and chappells, within the said county, and how the same are p'vided of maintenance and preaching ministers, by the oathes of good and lawful men of the hundred of Loinsdale, in the said county, viz: Thomas Westmore, of Middleton, gen.; Gyles Heysham, of Lancaster, gen.; Edmund Barwick, of High Field, gen.; Robert Caton, of Scotforth, gen.; Thomas Lawson, of the Craw-dubb, gen.; Robert Dicconson, of Boulton, gen.; Edmund Housman, of Slyne, gen.; Thomas Hynd, of Heaton, gen.; William Thornton, of Halton Parke, gen.; Richard Hewetson, of Bare, gen.; Henry Holme, of Nether Kellet, junr., gen.; Robert Throughton, of Overton, gen.; and John Wilkinson, de eadem, gen. Who say, upon their oathes, That the parish church of Lancaster, within the said hundred of Loinesdale and county of Lancaster, is a vicarage presentative by the said George Townson, and that the parsonage or rectory or tythes of corne and graine within most of the said parish are impropriated to Sir Robert Bindloss, bart. and his heirs, and are farmed att five hundred and ten pounds per annum, or thereabouts. And the said Jurors say that the said parish of Lancaster dothe containe within it the severall townships, hamletts, or villages, of the severall distances from the said parish church hereafter followinge, viz.: Lancaster, where the said church is seated, Scotforth distant as aforesaide, one mile; Ashton foure miles; Thurnham, five miles; Quarnmore, foure miles; Wyersdale, eight miles; Gressingham, eight miles; Caton, foure miles; Stalmine, seaventeene miles; Eaton, one mile; Poulton, Bare, and Torrisholme, three miles; Middleton, six miles; Overton, six miles; Heaton, three miles; Toxteth Parke, fiftie miles; p'te of Fullwode, sixteene miles; and Cadely, sixteen

miles ; Bleasdale Forest, thirteen miles ; and Myerscough, thirteen miles ; and that there is belonging to the said vicaridg, twentie-seaven acres of gleab land, lyinge near the church, within the town of Lancaster. And that the said Vicar hath alsoe tythes of corne and graine belonging to his vicaridg only in Lancaster, Thurnham, and Glasson, Badesbury and Midgham in Myerscough. And likewise wooll, lamb, pigg, goose, hay, hemp, flax, and small tythes in Lancaster, Skerton, Poulton, Bare, and Torrisholme, and most of the said parish. That the whole p'fitts issuing out of and belonging to the said vicaradg, are worth two hundred and eighty pounds per annum to the vicar, whereof the aforesaid gleab is p'cell. And that there are within and p'te of the said p'ish, these chappells, hereafter recited, being distant from their parish church viz., Wyresdale eight statute miles, Admarsh, in Bleasdale, thirteene miles, Stalmine seventeen miles, Gressingham eight miles, Caton foure miles, Overton six miles, Toxteth Park fiftie miles ; And that the vicar for the time being at Lancaster aforesaid, is Mr. William Marshall, Master of Arts, a godly and painful minister of Jesus Christ. And the said jurors say that the several chappells belonging to the said parish church of Lancaster, are provided of maintenance and ministers as hereunder is expressed, vizt., the said chappell of Wyresdale hath, and time out of mind hath had foure pounds per annum forth of ye revenue, and thirty pounds a year augmentation, forth of the impropriate rectory of Bolton, belonging to Sir Henry Compton, knt., a delinquent, by order of the Committee of the Goldsmith's Hall, upon Sir Henry Compton's composicion. The minister at the said chappell is Mr. Thomas Denny, Bachelor of Arts, who has been a preaching minister there above twelve yeares. And that the chappell of Admarsh, in Bleasdale, hath neither minister nor maintenance, and that the people thereabout are an ignorant and careless people, knowing nothing of the worshipp of God, but living in ignorance and supersticion, and six miles from any church or chappell. And that the said chappell of Stalmine hath about tenne pounds per annum in small tythes, and fiftie pounds per annum by order of the Committee of plundered ministers. The minister there for the time being, is Mr. Jenny, Master of Arts. And that the said chappell of Gressingham hath about six pounds thirteen shillings and foure pence per annum, in small tythes, and £40 a year forth of the sequestered tythes, impropriated to the Lord Morley, a papist delinquent, by order of the committee of plundered ministers. The minister there Mr. Sill, a painful preacher. And that the congregation of the said chapeltry of Gressingham humbly pray that they may be made a parish. And that the inhabitants of Aughton being foure miles from their p'rish church and within two miles of Gressingham, And also, that the congregation of Anram s'pated from Melling the p'rish church, by the river Loynes, which they cannot pass without danger of life, may bee sep'ated from their said p'ishes, and united to the said congregation and church of Gressingham, which is humbly submitted by the said commissioners and jurors. And the said jurors further say, that the said parochiall chappell of Caton has

about three pounds six shillings and eight pence per annum in small tythes, and a hundred pounds per annum part of the rectory of Boulton, belonging to the said Sir Henry Compton, a delinquent, by order of the Goldsmiths' Hall, upon the said delinquent's composition. The minister there for the time being, is Mr. Schoolcroft, Master of Arts. And that Overton had anciently but not of late, foure pounds per annum, paid by the vicar of Lancaster, and about three years since fourtie pounds per annum granted by the committee of plundered ministers, forth of the said rectory of Boulton, which fourtie pounds is now reduced to about sixteene pounds per annum, by the solicitations of one Mr. Chamberlain, agent for the said Sir Henry Compton, whereby their minister, Mr. Thomas Fawcett, an honest, godly, painfull man, is lately gone from them for want of maintenance. The said chappell of Overton and most of the inhabitants of Overton, Middleton, and Heaton, (except Oxcliffe, being about eighty families within the said chappelry), are six miles distant from Lancaster, their parish church, and so surrounded by the flowing sea twice in twenty-four hours, that they cannot pass to their p'ish church, and have no other church nearer them than Heysham, about three miles distant from the most part of the said inhabitants, who humbly pray a settled maintenance and ministry, and to be made a parish of themselves. In order to which, the said inhabitants have agreed to remove the said chappell to a more convenient place within Middleton aforesaid, at their own charge. And the said jurors doe likewise say that the said chappell of Toxteth hath allowance of the tythes within Toxteth, by order of the committee of plundered ministers, worth per annum sixty pounds (coi' bz annis) and tenne pounds out of the rectory of Walton, by like order. The minister Mr. Thomas Higgin, an honest godly man and a graduate. And the said jurors doe further say upon their oaths, that the parish church of Cockerham, within the hundred of Lunesdale, county of Lancaster, is a vicaradge presentative, John Calvert, Esq., (a papist delinquent) patron. That the tythes of corne and graine within the whole parish are impropriate to ye said Mr. Calvert, and to Mr. Bradshaw, another delinquent papist, with one hundred and sixteen pounds per annum, viz., eighty pounds per annum in Ellel, sixteene pounds per annum in Cockerham, and twenty pounds per annum in Forton. And that there is another tythe of corne in p'te of Thurnham, within the said p'ish, impropriate to the said Mr. Bradshaw, with tenne pounds per annum. And the said p'ish of Cockerham doth containe within it the several townships, hamletts, or villages of the several distances from the said p'ish church, hereafter following, viz., Cockerham, where the church is seated, Ellel distant as aforesaid three myles, Forton one myle, p'te of Clevely three myles, and part of Thurnham three myles, one house in Wyresdale, viz., Robert Webster's of the Holmes. [sic] And that there is belonging to the said church, a vicaradge house and six acres and a half of glebe land. And also tythe of salt, wooll, lambe, pigg, goose, hay, hempe, flax, and small tythes in most of the places within the said vicarage. That there

is some composicion rent from Thurnham Hall, about six shillings per annum. That the p'ofitts thereof were antiently reputed to be worth sixty pounds per annum, but by reason of the decaye of sheepe, the said vicaradge hath been farmed ye last year for thirty-five pounds. And the said jurors likewise say, that the said p'ish of Cockerham doth contain within it the severall chappells distant from their said p'ish church as followeth, viz., Ellel three myles, Sheirside three myles. And that the incumbent officiating at the said p'ish church for the time being, is one Mr. Thomas Smith, during the sequestration of Mr. William Calvert, the vicar, for delinquency. And the said jurors further say, that the severall chappells belonging to the said p'ish church of Cockerham, are provided for as followeth, viz., fifty pounds per annum allowed by order from the committee of plundered ministers, to ye said chappell of Ellel. The minister there Mr. Peter Atkinson. And that the said chappell of Sheirside hath no certain maintenance to their knowledge. The minister there for the time being, Mr. John Fisher. And the said Jurors further say upon their oathes, that the parish of Boulton, within the said hundred of Loynsdale, and county of Lancaster, was a rectory impropriate to the bishopp's see of Chester, which bishopp demised the said rectory to Sir Henry Compton, a delinquent, for lives yet in being, which is now farmed at three hundred and tenne pounds per annum, and extends into the townships of Bolton, Slyne and Hest, Nether Kellet Over Kellet, and Cappenwray within which rectory there is a vicaradge presentative by the said bishopp, which vicaradge of Boulton doth contain within it the severall townships, hamletts, or villages of their severall distances from the said p'ish church, viz., Boulton, where the p'ish church is situate, Slyne-cum-Hest, distant soe as is aforesaid one mile; Nether Kellet two miles; Over Kellet foure miles; Cappenwray three miles. And that there belongeth to the said p'ish church of Boulton a vicarage house and seaventeen acres of glebe land, and no tythes of corne, but wooll, lambe, pigg, goose, hay, hemp, flax, and small tythes through the whole p'ish, except Over Kellet, which are worth about foure pounds per annum, and that the whole p'ofitts of the said vicarage are worth about twentie pounds per ann. to the vicar, besides which the present incumbent hath an augmentation of a hundred pounds per annum forth of the said impropriated rectory, by order of Goldsmith's Hall, upon Sir Henry Compton's composicion paid by Mr. Chamberlain, agent for Sir Henry Compton. And the said jurors say that ye said p'ish hath within it one chappell p'ochiall, within Over Kellet, four myles distant from the said p'ish church of Boulton. And that Mr. John Jacques is incumbent and preacher att the said parish church. And that the said chappell of Over Kellet within the said p'ish, is p'vided for maintenance and ministers as hereafter is expressed, viz., hath about tenne pounds per annum in small tythes, and fiftie pounds per annum forthe of the said impropriated tythes, by like order of Goldsmith's Hall. The minister there Mr. William Smith, a preacher. And the said jurors say upon their oathes, that the parish church of Halton,

within the said hundred of Loynesdale, is a parsonage presentative antiently by Thomas Carus, Esq., y<sup>e</sup> elder, a papist, and doth containe within it the severall townships, hamletts, or villages, of the severall distances from the said parish church hereafter following, viz., Halton, where the church is seated, Aughton four miles distant. And that they have heard that there is a parsonage house and some glebe lands belonging to the said church, concerning which there is a suit depending, whether it be glebe or not, but whether itt bee soe or no, or what it is, or where it lyes they know not, but leave it to the issue of the said suit. And the said jurors say that there are tythes of corne and graine belonging to the said parsonage through the whole parish, certaine lands excepted, for which the owners pay a p'scription rent of six pounds or thereabouts. That there is wooll, lambe, pigg, goose, hay, hemp, flax, and small tythes, by them payable through the whole parish, and prescription or composicion rent amounting to six pounds per annum or thereabouts. And that the clear p'fits of the said parish are worth eighty pounds per ann. to the said parson, without reference to the lands in suit. That the parish of Halton hath within it a chapell, distant from the parish church, viz., Aughton foure myles. That the minister of the said parish church is Mr. Thomas Whitehead, Master of Arts. And further the said jurors say, that the said chappell of Aughton within the said parish, hath neither maintenance nor minister: the said hamlett of Aughton being situate at one end and Halton church at the other end of the parish, foure myles distant. If the church were removed to some convenient place, or neare the middle of the parish, or the said inhabitants of Aughton annexed to Gressingham, it would supply the whole much better. And the said jurors say upon their oathes, that the parish of Heysham, within the said hundred of Loynesdale, and county of Lancaster, is a parsonage presentative by Mr. George Parkinson of Farresnappe. That the said parish containes but one townshipp, viz., Heysham, where the parish church is seated. That there are tythes of corne and graine belonging to the said parsonage throughout the whole parish. That there is wooll, lambe, pigg, goose, hay hemp, flax, and small tythes, and also tythes of fyshe paid through the whole parish, that the profitts issuing out of the said rectory, are worth about one hundred pounnds per annum to the parson for the tyme being, Mr. William Ward, Master of Arts. And further the said jurors say, that the inhabitants of Fullwode, in the parish of Lancaster, being distant from their said parish as aforesaid sixteene myles, pray that they may be annexed to the parish church of Amounderness, from which they are distant but a myle or thereabouts. And that the inhabitants of Myerscough, likewise within the said parish of Lancaster, being thirteene myles from their parish church, pray that such of them as lye in the places called Midgall and Badsbury lying without the Pale Hedg, may be annexed to Woodplumpton; And that the rest of Myerscough within the Pale, may be annexed to Garstang. And that the said inhabitants within ye said chapellry of Stalmyne being five hundred seaventy and nine communicants, likewise

within the said parish of Lancaster, being seaventeen myles from their parish church, humbly pray that they may be made a parish of themselves and have a settled maintenance and ministry there, being soe surrounded with sea and moss that they cannot without great danger travell to any other church or chappell. In witness whereof, as well the said commissioners as the said jurors, have hereunto sett their hands and seales ye daye and year first above written.

Thomas Westmore.	Henry Holmes.	Gyles Heysham.
Robert Troughton.	Edmund Barwick.	John Wilkinson.
Robert Caton.	Thomas Lawson.	Robert Dicconson.
Edmund Houseman.	Thomas Hynd.	William Thornton.
Richard Hewetson.	John Sawrey.	Jereshjah Aspinwall.
George Pigot.	Thos. Whittington.	W. West.

*St. John's Chapel*.—A perpetual Curacy. Originally a Chapel-of-Ease to the parish Church. Erected A.D. 1754. Patron, Vicar of parish Church; present Incumbent, Rev. *G. Morland*, M.A., instituted 1824. Steeple and spire erected by the late Mr. *Thomas Bowes*, of LANCASTER, 1784. A District has been assigned.

*St. Ann's Chapel*.—Perpetual Curacy. Built by Act of Parliament, 1795, by the late Rev. *R. Housman*. Patron, Vicar of LANCASTER; present Incumbent, Rev. *Charles Bury*, M.A., instituted 1841. A District has been assigned.

*St. Thomas' Chapel*.—Perpetual Curacy. Erected under the provisions of 1 & 2 *Will. IV.*, c. 38. Patron and present Incumbent, Rev. *Colin Campbell*, M.A., instituted 1845. A District has been assigned.

#### DISSENTERS'.

*Friends'*.—Situate in *Meetinghouse-lane*, erected in 1677.

*Independents'*.—Erected 1772, situate in *High-street*, has been several times enlarged. Minister, Rev. *J. Fleming*.

*Independent Methodists*'.—Situate in *Nelson-street*.

*Methodists*'.—In *Sulyard-street*, erected 1806, on ground formerly part of the *Dominican Friary*, Superintendent, Rev. *Richard Moss*.

*Presbyterian* or *Socinians*'—In *St. Nicholas-street*, built on the site of a former one, 1787. Minister, Rev. *H. F. Herford*.

*Primitive Methodists*'.—In *Damside-street*.

*Roman Catholics*'.—In *Dalton-square*, built in 1797. Minister, Rev. *Richard Brown*.

#### COMMERCIAL, &c.

*Town Hall*.—Situate in the *Market-place*, was erected on the site of a former Hall, in the year 1783, at a cost to the Corporation, of £1300. In it are full length portraits of Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Nelson*, painted by *Lonsdale*, a native of LANCASTER, and presented by that artist to the Corporation.

*Public Baths*.—Situate in *Thurnham-street*.

*Custom House*.—On *St. George's Quay*, built in 1764, after a design by Mr. *Gillow*, of this town.

*Judges' Lodgings*.—In *Church-street*, erected 1824.

*Shambles*, or *Covered Market*.—A well-constructed edifice; being a thoroughfare between *Market* and *Common Garden Streets*, was built by the Corporation.

*Music Hall* and *Museum*.—In *St. Leonard-gate*; originally built for a theatre, in 1781, erected by Messrs. *Austen* and *Whitlock*, with the assistance of eight subscribers of £50 each. It is now used for concerts, lectures, &c.

*Assembly Rooms.*—In *King-street*, built by the Corporation.

*Oddfellows' Hall.*—Erected 1844.

*The New Bridge.*—Built in 1788, by the county, at a cost of £14,000.

*Fish Market.*—In the *Market-place*, built by the Corporation, in 1849.

*Dispensary.*—Established 1781, situate in *Thurnham-street*. Over the entrance is a small alto relievo of the “Good Samaritan.”

*Lancaster Joint Stock Bank.*—In *Church-street*, opened, October 1826, draw on Messrs. *Barclay and Co.*

*Preston Branch Bank.*—Incorporated by Royal charter, 1845, situate in *Church-street*, opened May 15, 1850. Draw on the Union Bank of London, the branches of the Bank of *England* in *Liverpool* and *Manchester*, and the Bank of *Ireland* and its branches.

*Savings' Bank.*—Situate in *New-street*, erected 1823.

*Gas Works.*—Erected on the *Quay*. The town was lighted Sept., 1812, by 169 oil lamps, with one spout each, at the expence of the Corporation. 24th February, 1827, the first attempt to light the streets with gas, was made by a private company.



## CHAPTER X.

## NOTICES OF THE CIVIL WAR.\*

THE scene of this local warfare, with the exception of one battle near *Cartmel*, and some skirmishes in the mountainous district dividing *Lancashire* and *Yorkshire*, lies entirely in the flat part of the former county bounded by that mountainous district, the river *Lune*, the *Irish sea*, and the *Mersey*.

The first mention we have of LANCASTER, in those unhappy affrays, is contained in "Lamentable and sad newes from the North, viz., *Yorke*, LANCASTER, *Darby*, and *Newcastle*, sent in a letter from a gentleman resident in *Yorke*, to his friend living in *Lumbard-street*," &c., dated June, 1642; as follows:—

SIR,—According to my engagements when I was at London, I can do no lesse than advertise you of our newest newes at *Yorke*. . . . The whole county of *Yorke* is frustrate of that happiness and fruition which we might by the providence of God, enjoy. But now, to the terror and amazement of all true-hearted protestants, other neighbouring counties are like (without the abundant mercy of God) to be sharers of this dolefull tragedy now acting in the north, for they have already begun their desperate intentions in Lancaster, as may appeare by the Lord Strange, his carriage there, where, with a company of about seven hun-

\* "Tracts relating to Military Proceedings in Lancashire during the Great Civil War, edited and illustrated by George Ormerod, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S. Printed for the Chetham Society. M.DCCCXLIV.

dred men, hath by vertue of the Commission of Arms, disposed of some part of the magazine there, and hath opposed the Deputy Lieutenant, appointed by the Ordinance for the militia, for putting the same in execution, and likewise it plainly appears by his Majesty's letter to Sir John Girlington, the High Sheriffe of that county, to sum up all protestant subjects with all speed at Preston, to heare his Majestie's two declarations, and the Lancashire petition to the king and his Majestie's answer thereunto, some of the Committees for Lancaster desired the forbearance of them to be received, but hee, in contempt of their order from the Parliament, departed with some of his friends, and cryed out, "All that are for the king, go with us, crying out, 'for the king! for the king!'" and so about four hundred persons, whereof the most part of them were popish Romanists, went with him, and ridde up and down the Moore, and cryed "For the king! for the king!" but far more in number, stayed with the Committee, and prayed for the uniting of the King and Parliament, with a general acclamation; so that 'tis thought, since the Committee's going there, it hath wonderfully wrought upon the hearts of the people; but upon contempt of the Committee, Sir John Girlington, Sir George Middleton, and Sir Edward Filton, are sent for to the House as delinquents. . . . . Your assured, loving friend, WILL. JENKINSON.

"From *Preston* there was sent serjeant-major *Birch* to LANCASTER, to view whether the townes were fortified strongly against him or no, who finding no great opposition, with his owne company entered the towne, and after the towne joined with him, and they went against the castle, wherein was Master *Kirby*, one of the knights of the shire, and Sir *John Girlington*, with some other forces, who perceiving that they were not able to resist, stole away out of the castle, and so captain *Birch* took possession of it.

"The Earl of *Darby* marched out of *Wigan* with 600 foot and 400 horse, and quartered on Tuesday night at *Kirkham*, where the countrie people, to the number of 3,000, being wearied with the insolence and tyranie of the rebels, came with great cheerfulness unto him: that upon that day he came within foure miles of LANCASTER, intending to take from the rebels those pieces of ordnance

which they before had seized on from a *Spanish* ship, and the next day was met by Sir *John Girlington* and Colonel *Tildesley*, with 600 men, whereof 300 were musketeers, and so went to LANCASTER.\*

"That upon Saturday, March 18, they summoned the towne, being well fortified and manned with 600 musketiers under the command of Lieutenant-colonell *Holcroft*, Serjeant-major *Sparrow*, and Serjeant-major *Heywood*: which being refused, after two hours' hot service, they forced the mote and drave the rebels into the castle. That Captaine *Shuttleworth* (a member of the House of Commons) and many of the townesmen were killed at the castle-gate, the Maior and diverse of the townesmen, such as were most seditious, being taken prisoners.

"That laying seige to the castle, the Earl of *Darby* was advertised by his espials, Monday, March 19, that Sir *John Seaton*, with 1,500 musketeers and some troopes of horse, were come from *Preston*, having drawn together to make up that body, the most part of the forces which they had in all the townes and places of importance in the whole county. That the Earl, taking notice of this opportunity, drawing his army into battalia,

\* A.D. 1642, 18 March, at break of day, the Earl of Derby and Lord Molineux appeared before Lancaster at the head of the king's troops, and summoned the garrison, who refused to surrender. The towne was immediatly stormed, and taken at the second assault. The earl perceiving that his soldiers were rather backward in engaging, took a half pike in his hand and cried "follow me." Some gentlemen volunteers joined him, and the soldiers then cheerfully followed, and entered the towne. Twenty soldiers were wounded, and Mr. Blundell of Crosby, had his thigh shattered by a musket ball. After demolishing the works, the earl started for Preston the third evening.

forced the enemy, and in the meane time, whilst they expected to be charged, sent a considerable party towards *Preston*, being thus left destitute, and set fire to *LANCASTER*, that it might be no receptacle for the beaten rebells."

A copie of a letter from a gentleman of great worth, in *Lancashire*, to his friend in *London*, who the *Stationer* can name:—

"I have not time to write any largediscourse, the news is not so good, but you may have enough of it: yet rather than let you be abused with falacies, I will give you the summe of all briefly. After the taking the ordnance from the Spanish ship, we carried them all safe to the castle at Lancaster; within a few dayes after, the Earle of Darby advanced towards us, all the papists rising wholly with him. Our Major having notice of it, sent to Boulton and Manchester for relief for us. Mr. Ashton took the charge, and advanced as far as Garston, and hearing that the enemy fled upon his coming, he returned to Preston. Whereupon the Earle re-advanced towards us, and after some two houres' hard fight, with the great slaughter of our enemies (for we could at severall times see two or three of their colours fall at once, and bodies lie on heape), they dispersed themselves among the hedges and at the backe of the houses, and set the towne on fire. This inforced our men to retire to the castle; whereupon the enemy entered the towne and killed men, women, and children; with all barbarous crueltie, dragging poor people from their houses and cutting their throats with butchers' knives: they set fire round the towne and departed. We had no victuals in the castle, and the well there was presently drunk drie, but we issued out again into the burned towne, took diverse of the enemy there remaining prisoners, and out of the store yet unburned we victualled ourselves for a good time. Thus we lay two or three houres, the enemy encompassing us on all sides, but (we were without anie feare of danger) at last the Major General and Master Ashton came to relieve us: they drew all the strength of Preston and adjacent parts with them. The Earle, lying at Ellwell, they drew to Cokerham, and passed by him to us. The Earle, who was no way able to have fought with them, took this opportunitie of the towne of Preston's weaknesse, and fell back upon it, and took it that night. Master Hopwood and Peter Shaw were those taken, and yet escaped again. I know not the losse that they there received; I am sure it was overmuch. At my going past I left my armoure, clothes, and a hundred muskets there; these are lost, I having nothing left. Upon notice, the Earle was marched towards Preston; Serjeant Major Sparrow and Master Ashton followed him; he had the towne before we came, and, as we are certaintie informed, all this crueltie arises from the Earle of Darby, who hath taken all the great Papistes into his

counsell, who before were not admitted, who have put him upon this cruell massacre, and all rise with him as one man; and if it be in their power, will not leave a true Protestant in these partes. If God and good people do not look upon us, which God grant they may, this countrie will be open for the Queen to passe with her forces, who hath alreadie sent 1,100 to Skipton toward Blagbourne.\*

"Being in haste I cannot enlarge, but rest

"Your faithfull friend, J. H."†

"*Lancaster, the 25th March, 1643.*"

"The report of our taking in of *Preston*, flew to LANCASTER, and prepared the towne and castle for our entrance. Thither was sent a company of foot and a troope of horse to take possession.

"This new and enlarged possession was inriched, honoured, and secured by the gods of the sea, who had provided for our welcome and warlike entertainment a *Dunkirke* ship, a man-of-war, that came from *Spaine*, furnished with twenty-one pieces of big brasse and iron ordnance, fit to supply the castle and fortifie other garrisons. Desire to see this forreiner, and care to secure this captivitie, led some of note and worth into a tedious and removing captivitie; yet could not the enemie be thus satisfied, for the misse of such a prize they labour to destroy that by fire which God hath sent by water. But God that sent the pieces, saved them; the most came whole and safe to the castle, before and after their lodging was fired. But malice and envie followed them.

\* The Queen landed from Holland at Burlington, February 22, 1642, reaching York on March 6.

† On the last page of this tract is a wood-cut, exhibiting the Lady of Babylon riding on a seven-headed monster, with toads proceeding from her mouth towards three figures, representing a monk, a bishop, and a noble or gentleman, who are inhaling the same, and whom the female figure (which is attired as a pope) addresses with the words, "Estote Proditores, betray yourselves." In the title page there is also a shield, charged with a cross, *inserted*.

"The earle, attended with great strength, besets LANCASTER, and sends this summons:—

*"To the Mayor and Burgesses of the Towne of Lancaster.*

"Gentlemen,—I am come into these parts by his Majestie's speciall command, to free you from the bondage of those declared traitors that now oppresse you and endeavour your destruction, by bringing you into their own condition. I will not now mention your former neglect of the king's service, nor, I hope, I need not tell you what forces I have, or might have upon occasion, nor how joyfully all the cuntry in my march have joyned themselves unto me. If you will submit the towne and your armes unto me, and likewise endeavour with me to re-obtaine the castle, you shall have all fair usage from me; if not, expect from me what the law of the lande and of warre will inflict upon you. Thus, expecting your answer by ten of the clock this day, I rest

"March the 18, eight a clock."

"Your friend, DEASY."

"This summons came first to the hands of our commanders of the castle, who gave the towne leave to returne this answer:—

"Right Honourable,—We received your's of this instant, and do returne this answer: that all our arms are under the command of officers now within our towne, for the King and Parliament, so that we have not the disposal of them; and at their coming they took and fortified the castle, which was never in our command; and by reason thereof have our towne likewise at their pleasure: so that both the towne and castle are now at their disposal, and will be (by God's blessing) kept for his Majestie. And thus we humbly take our leave, and rest

"Your honours, in all due respects."

"This answer pleaseth not; they must expect the punishments of war, which they found. They fiercely assault for an houre in vaine; they turne their rage upon houses, and by commission on the sudden become ready firemen, all of them. They fire houses and barnes without the sentinell, in which they sacrificed their dead bodies. Thus they heated and smoked our valiant soldiers from their sentinell; and when they were entered the towne, Papist-like, they continue to burne and butcher, denying quarter to our men, but rather, cursedly

quartering them; from which cruelty (raging mad) the most of our forces retired into the castle.

“The account of this cowardly conquest is thus given in from LANCASTER: the dwelling-houses that were burned, were in number four score and ten, containing three hundred bayes of building. The barnes, stables, cow-houses, replenished with corne, hay, and cattell, that were burned, were eighty-six, containing two hundred and forty bayes of building, and one malkiln of foure bayes of building, with three hundred windles of malt therein. By all which it evidently appears that they displayed the banner of the scarlet-coloured beast.

“A miracle of mercy was wrought in the midst of this undoing, and heart-breaking misery. They purposely and industriously gave fire to two houses of persons well affected to King and Parliament, but they would not take fire; no, by no means, though they renewed their endeavours severall times in severall places, though the next houses were burnt downe to the ground. God restrained the remnant of their rage; he remembered his promise, *Esay. xliij. 2, ‘the flame shall not kindle upon thee.’* Faith quenched the violence of the fire; this shield quenched the fierce darts of the devill.\*

“March 19, 2,000 of our forces marched out for the timely relief of LANCASTER, but how they were divided and diverted, walked and breathed to and fro, whilst the Earle fires LANCASTER, recovered

\* *Mercurius Aulicus*, as quoted p. 84; and *Lancaster's Massacre*, as given p. 86.

*Preston*, and rifled *Blackburne*, I have noe mind to inquire, but do sadly remember: and cannot forget how these tydings affrighted our commanders out of LANCASTER castle, and exposed the castle, so well appointed, to the will of the enemy, had not the mighty God by the assistance of a minister, doubled the spirit of the heartie (though headlesse souldiers), to maintaine, with utmost hazard, so great a trust. Thus God set our sunne backe many degrees, but not in manifest favour, as to *Hezekiah*; yet he brought us to himself, in fasting and prayer, the seven and twentyeth day of March, that we repenting, he might repent.

"This very night came a messenger from LANCASTER castle, reporting the safety of the castle, the heartinesse of the souldiers, and their comfortable provision.\*

#### LANCASTER VOYAGE.

"Our desire to secure our garrisons, to relieve *Warrington*, which we had occasionally oppressed, and to improve those new talents lent to us by God, sent us by sea, made us think upon a voyage to LANCASTER; the fairnesse of the weather and the drinesse of the way, were strong encouragements. We began our march the eight and twentieth day of April: the presence of God was sought for safe convoy; and so terrible was the presence that accompanied our march (what else can it be imputed to?) that our forces passed safely through *Wigan* (though the enemy found his former nest after we had taken it), *Prescot*, *Ormeskirke* (where we marred an intended muster), and *Preston* (that

\* Lancashire's Valley of Achor, p. 180—182.



recovered *Preston*). Whence (hearing that our friends in *Lancashire* were in some danger, though it was nothing but the Earle's hasting into *Yorkshire* and the rest of the forces speeding to *Hornby* castle) we stretched our march to LANCASTER. In all this way, as we moved, the enemy removed; we saw nothing remarkable in them but cruelty and cowardice: for some troops of horse meeting a poor boy unarmed, which outwent his company, clave his head and barbarously mangled him; also thereabouts the enemy, after a slight skirmish, overcame by flight.

"Our arrive at LANCASTER was welcomed with the safety of the castle, the good posture of the garrison, their comfortable provision, and the well-nigh preparednesse of the carriage: and after we had refreshed our armie a few dayes, with the sight of *Thurland* castle, and the report of our forraigners against *Hornby* castle, we advanced homeward, the ninth daye of Maye, and under the former gracious conduct, came safe home, though laden with the weight of twelve whole pieces and two broken ones (the rest fortifying the castle), all which we acknowledged in solemne thanksgiving in *Manchester*, the sixteenth of May."\*

#### LANCASTER SUCCOURED.

"About this time, LANCASTER, that had relieved us called aloud for relief, having been begirt twentie dayes, the report of our march raised the siege, and strongly garrisoned *Hornby* and *Thurland* castles: the rest of the forces, marching into *Westmoreland* and thence into *Yorkshire*, to joyne

\* *Lancashire's Valley of Achor*, p. 136, 137.

with the queen of armies. Having relieved our garrison, we marched toward the castles, the attempt upon one was blessed to win both. Three foot companies being drawn out to view *Horneby* castle, they fell upon an ambuscade of the enemy, within half musket-shot, they gave fire upon the whole bodie of horse and foot; but God made all shot free, a promising providence.

“This attempt was judged dangerous in the undertaking, and dishonourable in the issue, but encouraged by a weighty and seasonable word of a present divine.

“The onset was led on, not altogether unlike the *Amalekites*, 1 *Sam.* xxx. 11.

“Our scouts took a souldier that had escaped out of the castle, who gave us true information of the state of things, taught us rather to enter in by the window (a great window at the end of the hall) and undertook to lead the forces to this place of advantage. The companies drawne out for this designe, accommodated with scaling-ladders, great hammers, ropes, mattocks, and some combustible matter for the gates, were appointed to play upon that side towards the gates, to draw them from that side where the rest were to force an entrance. The fore forces played upon the castle and church, not without great danger from iron and stones, till they put fire to the gates, which smoaked them further off: the back forces were as busy at the window, scaling and hammering; which undaunted resolution to enter by the gates and window, speeded the cry of the enemy for quarter, which was speedily granted, the gates opened, and the castle entered.

"In this assault for two houres' space, we lost but two common souldiers, a third dangerously wounded, some others hurte with stones, but not mortally."\*

From a sermon preached by *Nehemiah Barnet*,† minister at LANCASTER, 18th December, 1645, we give the following extracts, from the illustration which they afford as to the cannon taken at LANCASTER, mentioned above, and of the temporary abandonment of LANCASTER Castle, by *Birch*, which is, however, stated (in the "*Valley of Achor*") to have been shortly re-possessed by the Parliament. Several passages of this discourse are borrowed verbatim from that tract, as noticed in the introduction to it:—

"Isaiah xxvi. 11. 'Lord, when thy hand . . . shall devoure them.' . . . I shall not now leade you abroad to behold a sight of the lift up hand of God protecting and prospering our armies by sea and land; but I shall keep me within the confines of this county.

"3. Look upon the many meanes and advantages: they had many roaring, thundering, terrifying cannons, we but one small piece: one (Mr. Angeer) saide well of them, their's did but playe, but did no worke; whilst the lift up hande of the God of the seas was working with the winde to bring a Dunkirke ship, a man-of-war, that came from Spaine, furnished with one and twentie pieces of brasse and iron ordinance, fit to supply our present wants and to carry them so neare our strongest castle, which had no cannon at all. And shall we not remember the hand of God in preserving the castle of Lancaster, after the cannons were hastily conveyed thither; the envie of our enemies was presentlie encreased, and therefore with much fury and all their forces, came against the towne and castle, and were so hot that they quickly fired the towne and thought thereby to have fired or frighted us out of the castle, and so have gained that which God's hande had lately given unto us. Yet unwilling to fight with our forces that came to relieve us, fearing thereby that they should lose their plunder, where-

\* Lancashire's Valley of Achor, &c., p. 139, 140.

† "God's Hand lift up for Lancashire, presented in a Sermon preached before the Honourable Committee of the county at Lancaster, [constituted under an ordinance of 26 Aug., 1645,] upon the 18th daye of December, 1645. Beinge a solemne daye of thanksgiving to God, for clearing of the county, in subduing the enemies thereof. By Nehemiah Barnet, Minister at Lancaster. London: printed by W. Wilson, for John Williams; and are to be sold at the Crown, in Paul's Church Yard, 1646."

with they were loaden, retreated and took the opportunity to prevaile against Preston, which successes surprised the spirites and discouraged the heartes of the chief commanders in the castle, that they thought the safest waye for themselves was to march towards Manchester, and quit the castle."

A.D. 1648, in the beginning of August, the *Scottish* army, commanded by the Duke of *Hamilton*, and a body of *English*, both horse and foot, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, marched through LANCASTER in order to relieve *Charles I.* from his imprisonment. The *English* troops formed the advanced division of the army; which, in the neighbourhood of *Preston*, was encountered by *Cromwell's* horse, who forced it to make a disorderly march to *Uttoweter*, where the *Scots'* army was totally defeated, and the Duke and all his principal officers taken prisoners.

Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, a gentleman of considerable estate, who had served the king from the beginning of this civil contest, was then, with a body of *English* troops, blockading LANCASTER castle, which had been, some time before this, seized on by *Cromwell* and garrisoned by the Parliamentary forces: the garrison was reduced to great distress, when news arrived from *Preston* of the *Scots'* being defeated by *Cromwell's* horse, it was then thought proper to abandon the design of reducing LANCASTER castle; and learning that Major General *Munroe*, with reinforcements for the Duke's army, from *Scotland*, was arrived in *Lancashire*, Sir *Thomas Tildesley* joined him, after having collected many of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* men who had been dispersed at *Preston*; and being joined by others newly levied, Sir *Thomas* proposed

to *Munroe* that their joint forces, together with some regiments of *Scots*, who yet remained quartered about *Kendal*, should march towards *Preston*, and follow *Cromwell* in the rear, as he pursued the *Scots*, but the Major General refused, and marched through *Westmoreland* and *Cumberland* to *Scotland*; the *English* troops under Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, proceeded into the bishopric of *Durham* to join the levies raising there for the king.\*

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MARCH OF CHARLES II. THROUGH LANCASHIRE TOWARDS  
WORCESTER, AUGUST, 1651.

ADVANCE OF KING CHARLES FROM LANCASTER TO WARRINGTON.

*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 63, August 21, 1651.

The following letter is given, having neither address nor signature:—

"SIR,—This day se'nnight [9th] Renegade Wogan came into *Kendal* with some troops, and charged the town to provide for 1,000 horse. Upon Monday [11] treacherous Boynton came into Lancaster, with six troops, to make provision for 1,000 *van-curriers*, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham. Upon Tuesday [12th], the *Scots'* king came hither, and set all the prisoners in the castle at liberty. He was proclaimed at the Crosse, and a general pardon to all persons, except some few. That night he lodged at Aston Hall, three miles from Lancaster, being Colonel Wainman's house, where Hamilton lodged, two dayes before the battail of *Preston*, whose fate, we hope, attends this young man that traces him in the same steps of invasion. Upon Wednesday [13th], he lodged at Myerscoe, Sir Thomas Tildesley's house, and from thence he marched through *Preston*. Upon Thursday [14th], his foot having the van, over

\* On the south-west side of Lancaster in a field adjoining the road from Lancaster to Aldcliffe, is an artificial hill, of a circular form, which bears some resemblance to a tumulus or barrow, but which tradition attributes to Cromwell; for this hill, it is said, was thrown up by him, and on the brow of which he planted cannon against the castle, which is about half a mile distant. The circumference of the base is about 150 yards, and the height nearly 5 yards. The name of the field, which belongs to Penny's Charity, is "Hill-meadow."—*Clark*, p. 89, 90.

Ribble Bridge, that night he lodged at Euston-burgh, six miles on this side of Preston, being Mr. Hugh Anderton's house, who was prisoner at Lancaster, but set at liberty by the Scots. This Anderton is a bloody papist, and one that, when Prince Rupert was at Bolton, boasted much of being in blood to the elbows at that cruell massacre. The last night [15], the King lodged at Brine, six miles from Warrington, being Sir William Gerard's house, who is a subtle Jesuited papist. This dissembling Scot trusts none so well in Lancashire for his hosts as the papists, which discovers his grosse hypocrisy in taking the covenant, and may let our English, as well as our Scotch Presbyters see how they were deceived with vaine conceits of this man's religion. Most people of all sorts, in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, fled as fast from the Scots, as their king and themselves did from their beggarly kingdom. 'Tis reported their king blames Major Ashurst for bringing him into Lancashire, since he finds no more accesse of forces. I do not hear that any considerable person doth openly own him since his march into England. Wherefore we doubt not but God hath ordered his coming hither for the more speedy and totall ruine of him and his adherents."

*Stockden Heath, 16 Aug.*

## CHAPTER XI.

## MISCELLANEOUS MATTER.

ANNUAL PROPORTION of BAPTISMS, BURIALS, and MARRIAGES, to the population, calculated upon an average of the totals of such baptisms, burials, and marriages, in the five years preceding the several enumerations of 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831.

County.	1796—1800.	1806—1810.	1816—1820.	1826—1830.
	<i>Bap. Bur. Mar.</i>	<i>Bap. Bur. Mar.</i>	<i>Bap. Bur. Mar.</i>	<i>Bap. Bur. Mar.</i>
Lancaster .....	34—47—114	31—51—115	37—55—116	38—57—117
York, East Riding	39—55—129	30—49—108	34—55—122	35—50—116
Chester .....	39—51—130	39—51—132	35—52—127	43—57—142
Derby .....	35—52—138	34—61—139	36—61—146	36—56—136
Summary of Engl.	36—48—123	34—51—122	35—57—127	37—54—129

From this Table it appears, that while, in Lancashire in the period between 1826 and 1830 there is only one burial in each 57 persons; in the East Riding of Yorkshire there is one in 50 persons; and in England, on an average, one in 54 persons.

The AREA of Lancaster in English statute acres is 1240.

ANALYSIS of various WATERS in the Wells at Lancaster, made by Angus Robert Smith, of Manchester, December, 1848.

	Degrees of Hardness.	Grains of solid matter per gallon.	Grains of Carbonate of Lime per gall.
Market Place .....	36.40	98.	chlorides &
Stone Well .....	23.16	37.8	[nitrates
Castle .....	39.48	98.	[in excess.
Marble Mill .....	23.76	27.3	
River Lune .....	5. 9	11.3	7.4
Fenton Street .....	39.48	64.4	36.15
Green Area Railway Station ....	24.76	25.2	

In the plantation on the north side of the road leading from Moorlane, below the Poor-house, is a mineral spring said to have been known to the Romans. It is a chalybeate, slightly saline.

## THE BRIDGES.

A bridge over the Lune, in the immediate neighbourhood of Lancaster, has existed from a very early period, certainly in the times of the Danes, if not before. Formerly the ruins of an ancient bridge, consisting of two arches, stood at the upper end of St. George's Quay, in a narrow part of the river. When the arch next the Skerton side was taken down, some pieces of brass money, supposed to be coins of Canute, were found under one of the foundation-stones, which seems to corroborate the idea that this bridge was of Danish origin. In 1801, this old bridge was still in existence, but in a ruinous state and its battlements nearly all down. In August of this year the passage over it was stopped, and one of the arches was taken down. In January, 1846, an account of the fall of the one remaining arch of this bridge was given in the *Lancaster Gazette*.

The first reference to Lancaster bridge which we have met with, occurs in the reign of King John, who on 13 August, in the 17th year of his reign, directed that the Abbot of Furness should have timber from his forest of Lancaster, for such part of the repairs of the Lancaster bridge as he was liable to for his fisheries in the river there.\*

*The New Bridge.*—Built A.D. 1788, by the county, is a substantial and elegant structure, after a design by Mr. Harrison. The Act for building it was passed 22 George III., A.D. 1782. It consists of five equal elliptical arches; is in length 549 feet. The expense of its erection amounted to the sum of £14,000. The pressure on the foundation is taken off by perforations over each pier. Above the entrance of each perforation is a pediment supported by two Doric pillars, and the ballustrade is of elegantly turned freestone. It is esteemed one of the handsomest bridges, of its size, in Europe.† The whole bridge is constructed of polished freestone, and many of the pieces are remarkably large: the carriage-road along the centre of the bridge is bounded on each side by a flagged footway for passengers.

*Railway Bridge over the Lune.*—This bridge, which carries the Lancaster and Carlisle Railway across the Lune, was opened for traffic on Monday, 21st September, 1846. The two principal arches are of Baltic timber, and are formed of five ribs or arches each, with a proper frame work laid upon them to produce the level railroad; each rib is formed of sixteen thicknesses of 3-inch plank; the four ribs on which the rails are laid, are fifteen inches wide each, and the other rib on which the foot-path runs is twelve inches wide. The foot-path is open to the public, and is reached by a staircase on each side of the river.

*Viaduct over the River Lune, at Lancaster.*—Branch of the North Western Railway to Poulton-le-Sands.—This bridge spans the river diagonally, in the form of a segment, it is 620 feet long. It is a combination of curve and skew, the curve being 590 feet radius, the skew at an angle of 40°. On the tops of the pile-piers are iron shoes, from

\* *Annals Furn.*, 180.

Rot. Claus., 17 John.

† Clark, p. 43.



which spring laminated arches of 8-inch plank. The railway is a little above the spring of the arches, and is suspended from them by iron rods or bolts of twenty tons' power each, which pass through the upright timbers. Ninety-eight tons were placed on one arch to test its strength when finished, and the deflection was five-eighths of an inch.

Railway from Lancaster to Poulton opened 12 June, 1848.

Opened from Lancaster to Wennington, 31 October, 1849.

#### COINS STRUCK IN LANCASTER.

A Penny of Æthelred II., reads "LANSTF." and one of Cnut, "LAN." possibly both of Lancaster.

A Penny of Henry, II., which reads "LANSS." on the reverse, in appropriated to this mint.\* Henry II. coined money at Lancaster.

Amongst a hoard of more than 5,700 coins of this monarch, discovered at Tealby, in Lincolnshire, in 1807, are some bearing "LANST," Lancaster, which place had not before been enumerated as one of the mints of Henry II.; and it is the earliest record of a mint in Lancaster.

TOKENS.—It appears that from and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth to that of King Charles II., the tradesmen in general, that is, all that pleased, coined small money, or tokens, for the benefit and convenience of trade. This being struck for necessary change, the figure and device were various, and the materials of lead, tin, copper, or brass. Every community, tradesman, or tradeswoman, that issued this useful kind of specie, was obliged to take it again, when presented for payment; and therefore, in large towns, where many sorts of them were current, a tradesman kept a *sorting-box*, into the partitions of which he put the money of the respective tradesmen, and at proper times, when he had a large quantity of one person's money, he sent it to him and got it changed into silver; and in this manner they proceeded until the year 1672, when Charles II. having struck a sufficient quantity of halfpence and farthings for the exigencies of commerce, the *nummorum famuli* were superseded; and those practices of the tradesmen were no longer useful or necessary.†

#### *Lancaster Penny,*

1. Obverse, a view of the Gateway Tower of Lancaster Castle; legend, "Lancaster Castle." Reverse, a view of the Bridge; legend, "Lancaster Bridge. In the exergue (or lower part of the side of the coin), "A. Seward, 1794."

Amongst the *Lancaster Halfpennies*, we find—

1. Obverse, a head in profile; legend, "Daniel Eccleston, Lancaster." Reverse, a ship, plough, and shuttle; legend, "Lancaster Halfpenny, 1794." Exergue, "Agricult., Manufact., and Commerce." Edge, "Payable in Lancaster, Liverpool, and Manchester."
2. Obverse, a coronetted head in profile, a small star under the head; legend, "John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster." Reverse, the arms

\* Ruding, p. 185. No. 16.

† Ruding, part v., p. 173,

‡ History of Knaresbro', p. 37,

- of Lancaster; legend, "Lancaster Halfpenny, 1791." Edge, "Payable at the warehouse of Thomas Worswick and sons."
3. Another, varying from the last only in the date, "1792."
  4. Another, same as the preceding but differently executed.
  5. Obverse and reverse same device as No. 3, but worse executed. Edge, "Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntingdonshire."
  6. Obverse and reverse same device as No. 5, but bad. Edge, "Payable at Claugham or in Dublin."
  7. Obverse, nearly like No. 2, but no star under the head. Reverse same as No. 3. Edge plain.
  8. Obverse same as No. 2. Reverse same as No. 2, except date, "1794." Edge, "Payable in Lancaster, London, and Bristol."
  9. Obverse, same as No. 2. Reverse and edge, same as No. 8.
  10. Same device as last, but badly executed.
  11. Obverse and reverse, same as No. 8. Edge, "Brighton Camp Halfpenny."
  12. Obverse and edge, same as No. 8. Reverse, the Arms of Lancaster. Legend, "Halfpenny, 1794."
  13. Same device as No. 12, but differently executed.
  14. Obverse and reverse, same as No. 3. Edge, "Payable in London, Bristol, and Lancaster."
  15. Obverse and reverse, same as No. 3. Edge, "Current everywhere."
  16. Obverse and reverse, same as No. 3. Edge, "Payable in Hull and in London."
  17. Obverse and reverse, same as No. 3. Edge, "Payable in Dublin or in London."
  18. Obverse and reverse, same as No. 3. Edge, "Payable at the Temple of the Muses."
  19. Obverse and reverse, same as No. 3. Edge milled.
  20. Obverse and reverse, same as No. 3. Very poor work. Edge plain.
- &c., &c., &c.

#### LANCASTER KINGS OF ARMS.

This title was originally granted by Henry VI., the herald "King of Arms," being, before that time, termed "Anjou King of Arms."

Many of the conquests made in France by Henry V, were lost during the regency appointed for the government of England, in the nonage of his successor, who, in his twenty-third year, contracted marriage with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem. The commanding and masculine talents of his royal consort would, it was conceived, compensate for the weakness and effeminacy of the king; and though she brought no possessions, the French province of the Maine, then a part of the English territory, was by a secret treaty, ceded to Charles, her uncle, on the consummation of the royal marriage. By a singular coincidence, the king had, some years before this event, changed the title of "Anjou King of Arms," in the English Heralds' College, to that of "LANCASTER *King of Arms*;" and in a list of new year's gifts presented by Henry VI., in A.D. 1436,

to the Lancaster herald, as well as to a person who was then created a "Poursuivant of Arms," by the title of *Collar*, there is a silver bell each, but for what purpose it is difficult to comprehend. This list is preserved with many others of a similar kind, in the Cottonian MSS., in the British Museum, and the entry referred to is thus expressed:—

"Item, deliv'd by your saide comaundem't, the Erles of Warewyke and Stafford, and your chamb'leyn being p'sente at that same tyme, that is to say, on allehallowen-daye laste, at Merton, whaune ye wer crowned [i. e. wearing the crown?], ye gaf to an Heraude King of Armes, afore that tyme called Aunjoye, and thaun at that fest his name changed by you and called LANCASTRE, j. belle of sylver, weying xvj. unc., and an other belle of sylver, at that tyme deliv'd to oon that was made *pursevant*, and thaune called *Color*, the whiche weyed viii. unc.

"W. PHILIP, *Chaumb'leyn*."\*

#### LANCASTER HERALD.

This office has been held in continued succession for several centuries, but inasmuch as there was a King of Arms by the appellation of "Lancaster," during the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., it might be difficult to distinguish those who were actually Kings of Arms from such as held the office of a Herald under the same designation. Kings of Arms have been frequently called in records, as well as by historians, *heralds*, being a common term incident to these officers. Anstis, from whose authority the preceding remarks are made, took great pains to obtain correct lists of the Officers of Arms, from public records and other sources; and, to a great extent, he succeeded: though in the earlier periods, much confusion existed owing to the indefinite appellations, and frequently the suppression of surnames, and the introduction of the title only of the office being substituted, tended to render such confusion still more difficult to be averted. It would seem that a protection was granted by the Black Prince, to "Nichol de Lancaster Heraude," who was, with others, in the king's service in Aquitaine. In the 4 Ric. II., Lancaster Herald receives a reward for a secret mission to the Emperor, and again in the 6 Ric. II., for his services in the retinue of Sir John Cheyne. In the Hen. IV., John, Lancaster Herald, was sent to the King of Scots; and who appears to have been a distinct officer from Lancaster King of Arms.

From the time of Edward IV., the list of persons who have held the office of Lancaster Herald, is tolerably complete though, in a few instances, the precise dates and modes of appointment have not been ascertained.

The styles of Lancaster and York Herald are supposed to have been derived from the Dukedoms of York and Lancaster, enjoyed by two of the sons of Edward III., John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Edmond of Langley, Duke of York.

\* Baines, vol. i., p. 403.

*List of persons who have held the office of Lancaster Herald from the time of Henry VIII.:—*

- Thomas Wall, Bluemantle Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent, dat: 3rd April, 1 H. VIII., 1510. Promoted to Norroy, May 1516.
- William Jenyns, Guisnes Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent 22nd May, 8 H. VIII., 1516. Died circa 19 H. VIII.
- William Fellowe, Portcullis Pursuivant, created Lancaster, Allhallows Day, 1 Nov. 19 H. VIII., 1527. Promoted to Norroy, July, 1536.
- Thomas Milner, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, created Lancaster 9th July, 28th H. VIII., 1536. Died 30th H. VIII.
- Fulke ap Howell, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent, 28th April, 31st H. VIII., 1539.
- Nicholas Tubman, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent, dated 22nd Nov., 1 Mariæ, 1553. Died 8th Jan., 1 Eliz. 1559.
- John Cook, Portcullis Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 7th March, 1 Eliz., 1559. Died at Amsterdam, 17th March, 1585.
- Nicholas Paddy, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 7th June, 30th Eliz., 1558.
- Francis Thynne appointed Lancaster by patent dated 24th October, 44 Eliz., 1602. Died circa 1608.
- Nicholas Charles, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 19th November, 6 Jas. I., 1608. Died 19th Nov., 1613.
- William Penson, appointed Lancaster, by patent dated 29th April, 15 Jas., 1617. Died 20th April, 1637.
- Thomas Thompson, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 17th May, 1637. Died in Dec., 1641.
- William Riley, Bluemantle Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent, Nov. 17th, Charles I., 1641. Died in July, 1667.
- George Barkham, made Lancaster during the Usurpation.
- Robert Chaloner, Bluemantle Pursuivant, created Lancaster 14th Nov., 1667. Died 16th Nov., 1675.
- Francis Sandford, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, created Lancaster 16th Nov., 27 Car. II., 1675. Surrendered soon after the Revolution. He ob. 17th Jan., 1694.
- Gregory King, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 7th July, 1689. Died 29th August, 1712.
- Rowland Fryth, Mowbray, Herald Extraordinary, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 14th Nov., 11 Annæ, 1712. Died 7th Dec., 1712.
- John Hesketh, Portcullis Pursuivant, created Lancaster by patent dated 4th June, 12 Annæ, 1713. Surrendered 18th May, 13 Geo., I., 1727.
- Stephen Martin Leake appointed Lancaster by patent 1st June, 13 Geo., 1727. Promoted to Norroy, Dec., 1729.
- Charles Greene, Arundel Herald Extraordinary, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 18th Dec., 1729, 3 Geo. II. Died 14th Jan., 1742—3.
- Thomas Browne, Bluemantle Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 6th May, 17 Geo., II., 1744. Promoted to Norroy, May, 1761.
- Isaac Heard, Bluemantle Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster, by patent dated 3 July, 1 Geo. III., 1761. Promoted to Norroy, Oct., 1774.

Thomas Lock, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 10th Nov., 15th Geo. III., 1774. Promoted to Norroy, Nov., 1781.

Charles Townley, Bluemantle Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 24th Dec., 22nd Geo. III., 1781, Surrendered 11th July, 33 Geo. III., 1793.

Edmund Lodge, Bluemantle Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 29th Oct., 34 Geo. III., 1793. Promoted to Norroy, June, 1822.

George Frederick Beltz, Portcullis Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 4th June, 3 Geo. IV., 1822. Died 23rd October, 1841.

Albert William Woods, Esq. (Norfolk Herald Extraordinary) Portcullis Pursuivant, appointed Lancaster by patent dated 9th Nov., 1841. The present Lancaster Herald.

#### LANCASTER SWORD.

A.D. 1412, Henry V. granted to Henry de Percy, Earl of Northumberland, in fee, the island, castle, lordship, &c. of Man, together with all islands, manors, &c., and the patronage of the episcopate of the said island with full liberties, by the service of carrying, on the days of the coronation of the king and his heirs, on the left shoulder or shoulders of the king, by himself or a sufficient and honourable deputy, that his naked sword with which we were girded when we went into the parts of Holderness, called "*the Lancaster sword*," during the procession, and during the whole time of the coronation aforesaid.\*

#### HORSE SHOE.

"We may here mention a curious septennial custom regarding *horse shoes*, still observed in the city of Lancaster. It was stated in a number of the *Preston Pilot*, in 1834, that 'a large assembly congregated for the purpose of witnessing the renewing of the horse shoe at the Horse Shoe Corner, Lancaster; when the old shoe was taken up and a new one put down, with '1834' engraved on it. Those who assembled to witness the ceremony were entertained with nut-brown ale, &c. Afterwards they had a merry chairing, and then retired. In the evening they were again entertained with a good substantial supper. This custom is supposed to have originated at the time John of Gaunt came into the town upon a noble charger, which *lost its shoe* at this place. The shoe was taken up and fixed in the middle of the street, and has ever since been replaced with a new one every seventh year, at the expense of the townsmen who reside near the place.'"†

#### PARISH REGISTER.

The oldest Register of baptisms, marriages, and burials for the parish of Lancaster, at present in the custody of the Vicar, commences A.D. 1599. On the first leaf of this book is the following memorandum :—

\* 5 Pars. Pat. Rot., de anno 1 Henry V., m. 85.

† Journal of the British Archaeological Association, No. xxiv., p. 414.

"September the 26th, 1659.—William Waller, gentleman, Mayor of Lancaster, did deliver this booke to James Hardman, the present Clearke of the parishe."

"Theare is an ould peart of this Register booke beginninge 1538, in ye 30th yeare of Kinge Henrie the Eight, for some yeares after.

"Christonings from the 17th November, 1538, to the latter end of february, 1553.

Weddings ffrō yt tyme to the 12 of . . . 1555.

Burialls from yt to ye 4th of february, 1546,

Are in an ould pearte of a booke in the chorch chist with the newe booke.

In Jan., 1688. It is 113 yeares."

#### POPULATION.

The population of Lancashire has increased in a most extraordinary ratio since the introduction of manufactures :—

1700.	1750.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.
166200	297400	672565	822310	1052210	1335600	1608609	2063913

The increase of the population for all England, from 1700 to 1831, was 164 per cent.; the rate for Durham, Monmouth, Worcester, and Salop, 119 to 136 per cent.; Cheshire, 212; Nottinghamshire, 246; Staffordshire, 250; Warwickshire, 251; Lancashire, 800!! The agricultural counties during the same period of 130 years, have only increased in population to the extent of 84 per cent. The proportion of *females* appears always to have exceeded that of males; thus:—

In 1811 there were 334,004 males, and 434,205 females.

In 1821       "       512,746       "       and 540,383       "

In 1831       "       650,389       "       and 686,465       " \*

#### POPULATION OF THE TOWN.

1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.
9030	9247	10144	12813	14089	14563†

In 1781, Lancaster contained 694 houses subject to house and window duty.

In A.D. 1784, there were 1783 families; 4,033 males and 4,549 females, total 8,582. From 1 May, 1778, to 1 May, 1784, there were marriages, 636; baptisms, 1284; burials, 1278.

\* Parliamentary Gazetteer, Art. Lancashire.

† Districts:—Parish Church, 5,187; St. Anne's, 2,726; St. John's, 2,194; St. Thomas', 3,384. Castle, 226; Asylum, 808; Workhouse, 157.

## RAIN.

The depth of Rain, in inches and tenths, fallen at Lancaster, Kendal, and Hebblethwaite Hall (two miles east of Sedbergh, Yorkshire), in each month of 1811:—

	Lancaster.	Kendal.	Heb. Hall.
January .....	2.11	3.522	3.56
February .....	4.26	7.319	5.31
March .....	3.08	4.333	5.50
April .....	3.12	3.577	3.95
May .....	3.22	7.316	3.81
June .....	2.49	3.935	7.00
July .....	2.18	4.627	5.37
August .....	4.14	5.435	6.18
September .....	1.21	1.476	2.87
October .....	6.23	8.377	3.03
November .....	6.00	6.622	6.53
December .....	4.51	6.943	5.50
	44.08	63.482	58.61

N.B. Above  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches of rain at Lancaster in 1811 than in 1810.

## RATES.

## LANCASTER COUNTY RATES.

The full and fair annual value of the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the township of Lancaster, as valued for the County Rates in the year 1829, and also the former Rate, made Dec. 4, 1815:—

	Rate of 1815,	New Rate of 1829,	Rate for 1841.
Lancaster .....	£28,913.	£30,715.	£37,605.

Lancaster is not liable to be rated towards the repairs of any County or Hundred Bridges. This exemption is also enjoyed by Preston, Clitheroe, Liverpool, Altcar parish, Wigan, and Wigan-with-Hulme.

Lancaster pays County Rates as under:—

For general purposes.	For the Preston House of Correction.
For the County Lunatic Asylum.	For the Kirkdale House of Correction.

The amount paid by Lancaster for County Rates, for five years, commencing March, 1829, and ending March, 1834, was as follows:—

1829—30.	1830—31.	1831—32.	1832—33.	1833—34.
£405:5:0.	£490:11:8.	£418:11:9.	£527:17:11.	£482:11:5.

The above is paid out of the Poors' Rates, and is about one-ninth of the amount of the Rate for the poor, or about 4d. in the pound on the valuation.

## POOR RATES

of the *Parish*, in 1838, amounted to £7,901:4:0; of the *Township*, to £3,150:13:0.

## HIGHWAY RETURNS,

for three years, ending 1814, shew an average total expenditure of £74,248 on 739 miles of paved streets and turnpike roads, and 2,777 miles of all other highways used for wheel carriages in this county. The amount of *Highway Rates* for 1827, was £96,615. The returns of *Turnpike Trusts* for 1836, shew a total expenditure of £155,348 : 4 : 2, by 64 turnpike trusts in this county ; and the *Highway* returns from 1839, an expenditure of £73,870 on 3,523 miles of road.\*

## Chronological Miscellanies.

17 November, 1802, a halbert stolen from the Mayor's door.

15 February, 1803, a vagrant publicly whipped in Lancaster market-place.

2 April, 1803, James Morris, pilloried in Lancaster market-place, for fraud. Found dead in bed next morning, verdict, "by visitation of God."

Sunday, 7 August, 1803, first prize brought into Lancaster this war, the French ship polacre, "L'Harmonie," 238 tons burthen. Cargo, 307 bales cotton ; 935 cwts. Campeachy wood ; 20 bundles buffalo-hides. She sailed from New Orleans for Marseilles, and was taken 26th July, lat. 35.10, long. 23.16, by the "Paragon," letter of marque, of Lancaster, Capt. Hart, twenty guns, Messrs. Ridley and Dodson owners.

22 September, 1803, Prince William Frederick of Gloucester visited Lancaster, inspected the Volunteers, entered the Castle, and ascended John O'Gaunt's chair.

October, 1803, Rev. Mr. White, Vicar of Lancaster, is a prisoner at Fontainebleau.

January Quarter Sessions, 1807, entry made of Cotton and Woollen Mills, employing 3 apprentices and 20 other persons or upwards, Lonsdale Hundred, three ; Amounderness, none ; Blackburn, six ; Leyland, none ; West Derby, none ; Salford, thirteen. Total 22.

18 July, 1807, Joshua Newsham pilloried in Lancaster market-place.

Sunday, 21 July, 1811, New Organ in Lancaster Church opened by Mr. Langshaw.

September, 1812, in cutting a drain in Pudding-lane, two small querns, many pieces of earthenware, and some human bones were found.

Memorial of Daniel Eccleston (Lancashire halfpenny by him), in *Lancaster Gazette*, 21 and 28 December, 1816.

18 July, 1818, the Dungeon Tower of Lancaster Castle just taken down.

4 October, 1818, new burial ground of Lancaster Church consecrated.

Packet Boats started on canal, between Preston and Kendal, 1 May, 1820. Fare through, 4s. after-cabin ; 6s. fore-cabin. Shorter distances, 1d. and 1½d. per mile.

\* Parliamentary Gazetteer.



- October, 1820, only three Friendly Societies in Lancaster :—"The Good Intent," 120 members; "Friendship and Unity," 68 members; "Samaritan," 425 members. Sixty public houses in the town.
- Up to 1819 the Corporation lighted the street lamps, but that year, a meeting resolved that each street should light its own; in 1820 the same; but in 1821, many inhabitants refused to subscribe.
- Friday, 19 July, 1822, a freestone statue of John o'Gaunt placed in the niche in Gateway Tower; cut by Claud Ninno, a working mason.
- February, 1823, roof of Lancaster Church repaired.
- Sunday, 12 October, 1823, the maiden peal rung, by the Preston ringers, on the Lancaster church bells.
- 2 March, 1824, Hannah Clough, a prisoner in Lancaster castle, under process of Ecclesiastical Court, did penance in Lancaster church.
- 28 September, 1825, at a public meeting in Lancaster, resolved to raise £8000 in £20 shares to light the town with gas.
- Whitmonday, 1825, the "Samaritan" was the only Friendly Society that walked in procession to church.
- 11 and 12 September, 1826, 1,300 lbs. of salmon taken in Mr. Bradshaw's fishery in the Lune.
- May, 1826, one of Buonaparte's generals, with his lady, visited Lancaster castle, and left money which released and set up again in the world a poor debtor, with wife and five children.
- Tuesday, 23 May, 1826, Glasson branch of Lancaster canal opened.
- June 1826, gas-pipes begun to be laid down in Market-street.
- 24 February, 1827, first attempt to light Lancaster streets with gas.

## The Queen's Visit.

8TH OCTOBER, 1851.

The most memorable event of modern times, connected with the history of LANCASTER, is, undoubtedly, the visit of our beloved Queen to her ancient and loyal town of LANCASTER, the seat of her Duchy, and county town of the Palatinate. It is impossible to describe the feelings of gratitude to her Majesty which pervaded the breasts of all classes, when first it was announced that her most gracious Majesty had kindly promised to visit this town. Every anxiety was evinced to do justice to so kind a condescension.

And preparations were made throughout the whole of the route from the railway-station to the castle, to do honour to the occasion. Warm and universal as were the external demonstrations of loyalty and attachment, no language could describe more correctly the feelings of those who were present, amounting to a "religious awe," than to say that never was there a time when one and all more fervently implored, on behalf of our most gracious Sovereign Lady Queen *Victoria*, that our Heavenly Father would "so replenish her with the grace of His HOLY SPIRIT, that she might always incline to His will, and walk in His way; that He would endue her *plenteously* with heavenly gifts; that He would grant her, in health and wealth, *long to live*; that He would vanquish and overcome all her enemies; and that finally, after this life, she might attain everlasting joy and felicity, through JESUS CHRIST our Lord."

Such were the earnest prayers of thousands who beheld her on that occasion, proceeding not from a sense of obligation and duty to our Queen, but the result of ardent affection and devoted attachment to her Royal Person, - iterating and reiterating the cry—

GOD SAVE OUR QUEEN!

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